AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE OHIO INDIANS,

IN THE YEAR MDCCLXIV.

UNDER THE COMMAND OF

HENRY BOUQUET, ESQ.

COLONEL OF FOOT, AND NOW BRIGADIER GENERAL IN AMERICA.

Including his Tranſactions with the INDIANS,
Relative to the DELIVERY of their PRISONERS,
And the PRELIMINARIES of PEACE.

With an INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT of the Preceding CAMPAIGN,
And BATTLE at BUSHY-RUN.

To which are annexed

MILITARY PAPERS,

21608?
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CONTAINING

Reflections on the War with the Savages; a Method of forming Frontier Settlements; ſome Account of the INDIAN Country; with a Liſt of Nations, Fighting Men, Towns, Diſtances, and different Routs.

The whole illuſtrated with a MAP and COPPER-PLATES.

Publiſhed, from authentic Documents, by a Lover of his Country.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE general peace, concluded between Great-Britain, France and Spain, in the year 1762, although viewed in different lights by perſons variouſly affected in the mother country, was nevertheleſs univerſally conſidered as a moſt happy event in America.

To behold the French, who had ſo long inſtigated and ſupported the Indians, in the moſt deſtructive wars and cruel depredations on our frontier ſettlements, at laſt compelled to cede all Canada, and reſtricted to the weſtern ſide of Miſſiſippi, was what we had long wiſhed, but ſcarcely hoped an accompliſhment of in our own days. The preciſion with which our boundaries were expreſſed, admitted of no ground for future diſputes, and was matter of exultation to every one who underſtood and regarded the intereſt of theſe colonies. We had now the pleaſing proſpect of "entire* "ſecurity from all moleſtation of the Indians, ſince French intrigues could "no longer be employed to ſeduce, or French force to ſupport them."

"UNHAPPILY, however, we were diſappointed in this expectation. Our "danger aroſe from that very quarter, in which we imagined ourſelves in the "moſt perfect ſecurity; and juſt at the time when we concluded the In- "dians to be entirely awed, and almoſt ſubjected by our power, they ſud- "denly fell upon the frontiers of our moſt valuable ſettlements, and upon "all our out-lying forts, with ſuch unanimity in the deſign, and with ſuch "ſavage fury in the attack, as we had not experienced, even in the hotteſt "times of any former war."

* The ſeveral quotations in this introduction are taken from the Annual Regiſter, 1763, which is written with great elegance and truth, ſo far as the author appears to have been furniſhed with materials.

SEVERAL reaſons have been aſſigned for this perfidious conduct on their part; ſuch as an omiſſion of the uſual preſents, and ſome ſettlements made on lands not yet purchaſed from them. But theſe cauſes, if true, could only affect a few tribes, and never could have formed ſo general a combination againſt us. The true reaſon ſeems to have been a jealouſy of our growing power, heightened by their ſeeing the French almoſt wholly driven out of America, and a number of forts now poſſeſſed by us, which commanded the great lakes and rivers communicating with them, and awed the whole Indian country. They probably imagined that they beheld " in every little gar-" riſon the germ of a future colony," and thought it incumbent on them to make one general and timely effort to cruſh our power in the birth.

BY the papers in the Appendix, a general idea may be formed of the ſtrength of the different Indian nations ſurrounding our ſettlements, and their ſituation with reſpect to each other.

THE Shawaneſe, Delawares and other Ohio tribes, took the lead in this war, and ſeem to have begun it rather too precipitately, before the other tribes in confederacy with them, were ready for action.

THEIR ſcheme appears to have been projected with much deliberate miſchief in the intention, and more than uſual ſkill in the ſyſtem of execution. They were to make one general and ſudden attack upon our frontier ſettlements in the time of harveſt, to deſtroy our men, corn, cattle, &c. as far as they could penetrate, and to ſtarve our out-poſts, by cutting off their ſupplies, and all communication with the inhabitants of the Provinces.

IN purſuance of this bold and bloody project, they fell ſuddenly upon our traders whom they had invited into their country, murdered many of them, and made one general plunder of their effects, to an immenſe value.

THE frontiers of Pennſylvania, Maryland and Virginia, were immediately over-run with ſcalping parties, marking their way with blood and devaſtation wherever they came, and all thoſe examples of ſavage cruelty, which never fail to accompany an Indian war.

ALL our out-forts, even at the remoteſt diſtances, were attacked about the ſame time; and the following ones ſoon fell into the enemies hands — viz.

Le Boeuf, Venango, Preſqu' Iſle, on and near lake Erie; La Bay upon lake Michigan; St. Joſeph's, upon the river of that name; Miamis upon the Miamis river; Ouachtanon upon the Ouabache; Sanduſky upon lake Junundat; and Michilimackinac.

Being but weakly garriſoned, truſting to the ſecurity of a general peace ſo lately eſtabliſhed, unable to obtain the leaſt intelligence from the colonies, or from each other, and being ſeparately perſuaded by their treacherous and ſavage aſſailants that they had carried every other place before them, it could not be expected that theſe ſmall poſts could hold out long; and the fate of their garriſons is terrible to relate.

The news of their ſurrender, and the continued ravages of the enemy, ſtruck all America with conſternation, and depopulated a great part of our frontiers. We now ſaw moſt of thoſe poſts, ſuddenly wreſted from us, which had been the great object of the late war, and one of the principal advantages acquired by the peace. Only the forts of Niagara, the Detroit and Fort-Pitt, remained in our hands, of all that had been purchaſed with ſo much blood and treaſure. But theſe were places of conſequence, and we hope it will ever remain an argument of their importance, and of the attention that ſhould be paid to their future ſupport, that they alone continued to awe the whole power of the Indians, and balanced the fate of the war between them and us!

These forts, being larger, were better garriſoned and ſupplied to ſtand a ſiege of ſome length, than the places that fell. Niagara was not attacked, the enemy judging it too ſtrong.

The officers who commanded the other two deſerved the higheſt honour for the firmneſs with which they defended them, and the hardſhips they ſuſtained rather than deliver up places of ſuch importance.

Major Gladwin, in particular, who commanded at the Detroit, had to withſtand the united and vigorous attacks of all the nations living upon the Lakes.

The deſign of this publication, and the materials in my hands, lead me more immediately to ſpeak of the defence and relief of Fort Pitt.

The

THE Indians had early ſurrounded that place, and cut off all communication from it, even by meſſage. Tho' they had no cannon, nor underſtood the methods of a regular ſiege, yet, with incredible boldneſs, they poſted themſelves under the banks of both rivers † by the walls of the fort, and continued as it were buried there, from day to day, with aſtoniſhing patience; pouring in an inceſſant ſtorm of muſquetry and fire arrows; hoping at length, by famine, by fire, or by harraſſing out the garriſon, to carry their point.

CAPTAIN ECUYER, who commanded there, tho' he wanted ſeveral neceſſaries for ſuſtaining a ſiege, and the fortifications had been greatly damaged by the floods, took all the precautions which art and judgment could ſuggeſt for the repair of the place, and repulſing the enemy. His garriſon, joined by the inhabitants, and ſurviving traders who had taken refuge there, ſeconded his efforts with reſolution. Their ſituation was alarming, being remote from all immediate aſſiſtance, and having to deal with an enemy from whom they had no mercy to expect.

GENERAL AMHERST, the commander in chief, not being able to provide in time for the ſafety of the remote poſts, bent his chief attention to the relief of the Detroit, Niagara, and Fort-Pitt. The communication with the two former was chiefly by water, from the province of New-York; and it was on that account the more eaſy to throw ſuccours into them. The detachment ſent to the Detroit arrived there on the 29th of July, 1763; but Captain Dalyell, who commanded that detachment, and ſeventy of his men, loſt their lives in a rencounter with the Indians near the fort. Previous to this diſaſter he had paſſed thro' Niagara, and left a reinforcement there.

FORT PITT remained all this while in a moſt critical ſituation. No account could be obtained from the garriſon, nor any relief ſent to it, but by a long and tedious land march of near 200 miles beyond the ſettlements; and through thoſe dangerous paſſes where the fate of Braddock and others ſtill riſes on the imagination.

COL. BOUQUET was appointed to march to the relief of this fort, with a large quantity of military ſtores and proviſions, eſcorted by the ſhattered remainder of the 42d and 77th regiments, lately returned in a diſmal condition

† The Ohio and Monongahela, at the junction of which ſtands Fort Pitt.

from

from the Weſt-Indies, and far from being recovered of their fatigues at the ſiege of the Havannah. General Amherſt, having at that time no other troops to ſpare, was obliged to employ them in a ſervice which would have required men of the ſtrongeſt conſtitution and vigour.

Early orders had been given to prepare a convoy of proviſions on the frontiers of Pennſylvania, but ſuch were the univerſal terror and conſternation of the inhabitants, that when Col. Bouquet arrived at Carliſle, nothing had yet been done. A great number of the plantations had been plundered and burnt, by the ſavages; many of the mills deſtroyed, and the full-ripe crops ſtood waving in the field, ready for the ſickle, but the reapers were not to be found!

The greateſt part of the county of Cumberland, thro' which the army had to paſs, was deſerted, and the roads were covered with diſtreſſed families, flying from their ſettlements, and deſtitute of all the neceſſaries of life.

In the midſt of that general confuſion, the ſupplies neceſſary for the expedition became very precarious, nor was it leſs difficult to procure horſes and carriages for the uſe of the troops.

The commander found that, inſtead of expecting ſuch ſupplies from a miſerable people, he himſelf was called by the voice of humanity to beſtow on them ſome ſhare of his own proviſions to relieve their preſent exigency. However, in 18 days after his arrival at Carliſle, by the prudent and active meaſures which he purſued, joined to his knowlege of the country, and the diligence of the perſons he employed, the convoy and carriages were procured with the aſſiſtance of the interior parts of the country, and the army proceeded.

Their march did not abate the fears of the dejected inhabitants. They knew the ſtrength and ferocity of the enemy. They remembered the former defeats even of our beſt troops, and were full of diffidence and apprehenſions on beholding the ſmall number and ſickly ſtate of the regulars employed in this expedition. Without the leaſt hopes, therefore, of ſucceſs, they ſeemed only to wait for the fatal event, which they dreaded, to abandon all the country beyond the Suſquehannah.

In ſuch deſpondency of mind, it is not ſurpriſing, that tho' their whole was at ſtake, and depended intirely upon the fate of this little army, none of them offered.

offered to aſſiſt in the defence of the country, by joining the expedition; in which they would have been of infinite ſervice, being in general well acquainted with the woods, and excellent markſmen.

It cannot be conteſted that the defeat of the regular troops on this occaſion, would have left the province of Pennſylvania in particular, expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, from a victorious, daring, and barbarous enemy; for (excepting the frontier people of Cumberland county) the bulk of its induſtrious inhabitants is compoſed of merchants, tradeſmen and farmers, unaccuſtomed to arms, and without a militia law.

The legiſlature ordered, indeed, 700 men to be raiſed for the protection of the frontiers during the harveſt; but what dependence could be placed in raw troops, newly raiſed and undiſciplined? Under ſo many diſcouraging circumſtances, the Colonel (deprived of all aſſiſtance from the provinces, and having none to expect from the General, who had ſent him the laſt man that could be removed from the hoſpitals) had nothing elſe to truſt to, but about 500 ſoldiers of approved courage and reſolution indeed, but infirm, and intire ſtrangers to the woods, and to this new kind of war. A number of them were even ſo weak, as not to be able to march, and ſixty were carried in waggons to reinforce the garriſons of the ſmall poſts on the communication.

Meanwhile Fort-Ligonier, ſituated beyond the Allegheney-Mountains, was in the greateſt danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, before the army could reach it. The ſtockade being very bad, and the garriſon extremely weak, they had attacked it vigorouſly, but had been repulſed by the bravery and good conduct of Lieutenant Blane who commanded there.

The preſervation of that poſt was of the utmoſt conſequence, on account of its ſituation and the quantity of military ſtores it contained, which if the enemy could have got poſſeſſion of, would have enabled them to continue their attack upon Fort-Pitt, and reduced the army to the greateſt ſtreights. For an object of that importance, every riſk was to be run; and the Colonel determined to ſend through the woods, with proper guides, a party of thirty men to join that garriſon. They ſucceeded by forced marches in that hazardous attempt, not having been diſcovered by the enemy till they came within ſight of the Fort, into which they threw themſelves, after receiving ſome running ſhot.

PREVIOUS to that reinforcement of regulars, 20 voluntiers, all good woodſmen, had been ſent to Fort-Ligonier by Capt. Ourry, who commanded at Fort-Bedford another very conſiderable magazine of proviſions, and military ſtores, the principal and centrical ſtage between Carliſle and Fort-Pitt, being about 100 miles diſtance from each. This fort was alſo in a ruinous condition, and very weakly garriſoned, although the two ſmall intermediate poſts, at the croſſings of the Juniata and of Stony Creek, had been abandoned to ſtrengthen it.

HERE the diſtreſſed families, ſcattered for 12 or 15 miles round, fled for protection, leaving moſt of their effects a prey to the ſavages.

ALL the neceſſary precautions were taken by the commanding officer, to prevent ſurprize, and repel open force, as alſo to render ineffectual the enemies fire arrows. He armed all the fighting men, who formed two companies of voluntiers, and did duty with the garriſon till the arrival of two companies of light infantry, detached as ſoon as poſſible from Colonel Bouquet's little army.

THESE two magazines being ſecured, the Colonel advanced to the remoteſt verge of our ſettlements, where he could receive no ſort of intelligence of the number, poſition, or motions of the enemy. Not even at Fort-Bedford, where he arrived with his whole convoy on the 25th of July, for tho' the Indians did not attempt to attack the fort, they had by this time killed, ſcalped, and taken eighteen perſons in that neighbourhood, and their ſculking parties were ſo ſpread, that at laſt no expreſs could eſcape them. "This" (want of intelligence) "is often a very embarraſſing circumſtance "in the conduct of a campaign in America. The Indians had better intel- "ligence, and no ſooner were they informed of the march of our Army, "than they broke up the ſiege of Fort-Pitt, and took the rout by which "they knew we were to proceed, reſolved to take the firſt advantageous "opportunity of an attack on the march."

IN this uncertainty of intelligence under which the Colonel laboured, he marched from Fort-Bedford the 28th of July, and as ſoon as he reached Fort-Ligonier, he determined very prudently to leave his waggons at that poſt, and to proceed only with the pack horſes. Thus diſburdened, the army continued their rout. Before them lay a dangerous defile at Turtle

Creek, ſeveral miles in length, commanded the whole way by high and craggy hills. This defile he intended to have paſſed the enſuing night, by a double or forced march; thereby, if poſſible, to elude the vigilance of ſo alert an enemy, propoſing only to make a ſhort halt in his way, to refreſh the Troops, at Buſhy-Run.

When they came within half a mile of that place, about one in the afternoon, (Auguſt 5th, 1763) after an harraſſing march of ſeventeen miles, and juſt as they were expecting to relax from their fatigue, they were ſuddenly attacked by the Indians, on their advanced guard; which being ſpeedily and firmly ſupported, the enemy was beat off, and even purſued to a conſiderable diſtance.

'† But the flight of theſe barbarians muſt often be conſidered as a part 'of the engagement, (if we may uſe the expreſſion) rather than a derelict'ion 'of the field. The moment the purſuit ended, they returned with renewed 'vigour to the attack. Several other parties, who had been in ambuſh in 'ſome high grounds which lay along the flanks of the army, now ſtarted 'up at once, and falling with a reſolution equal to that of their companions, 'galled our troops with a moſt obſtinate fire.

'It was neceſſary to make a general charge with the whole line to dif'lodge them from theſe heights. This charge ſucceeded; but ſtill the ſuc'ceſs produced no deciſive advantage; for as ſoon as the ſavages were dri'ven from one poſt, they ſtill appeared on another, till by conſtant rein'forcements they were at length able to ſurround the whole detachment, 'and attack the convoy which had been left in the rear.

'This manœuvre obliged the main body to fall back in order to protect 'it. The action, which grew every moment hotter and hotter, now became 'general. Our troops were attacked on every ſide; the ſavages ſupported 'their ſpirit throughout; but the ſteady behaviour of the Engliſh troops, 'who were not thrown into the leaſt confuſion by the very diſcouraging

† The above quotation is from the writer already mentioned, and ſeems ſo accurately and elegantly drawn up, from the account of this engagement, ſent to his Majeſty's miniſters, that nothing better can be inſerted in its room. There are but one or two ſmall miſtakes in it, which are here corrected.

'nature

'nature of this ſervice, in the end prevailed; they repulſed the enemy, and 'drove them from all their poſts with fixed bayonets.

'THE engagement ended only with the day, having continued from one 'without any intermiſſion.

'THE ground, on which the action ended, was not altogether inconvenient 'for an encampment. The convoy and the wounded were in the middle, and 'the troops, diſpoſed in a circle, incompaſſed the whole. In this manner, 'and with little repoſe, they paſſed an anxious night, obliged to the ſtricteſt 'vigilance by an enterprizing enemy who had ſurrounded them.

'THOSE who have only experienced the ſeverities and dangers of a cam-'paign in Europe, can ſcarcely form an idea of what is to be done and en-'dured in an American war. To act in a country cultivated and inhabited, 'where roads are made, magazines are eſtabliſhed, and hoſpitals provided; 'where there are good towns to retreat to in caſe of misfortune; or, at the 'worſt, a generous enemy to yield to, from whom no conſolation, but the 'honour of victory, can be wanting; this may be conſidered as the exerciſe 'of a ſpirited and adventurous mind, rather than a rigid conteſt where all is 'at ſtake, and mutual deſtruction the object: and as a contention between 'rivals for glory, rather than a real ſtruggle between ſanguinary enemies. 'But in an American campaign every thing is terrible; the face of the coun-'try, the climate, the enemy. There is no refreſhment for the healthy, nor 'relief for the ſick. A vaſt unhoſpitable deſart, unſafe and treacherous, ſur-'rounds them, where victories are not deciſive, but defeats are ruinous; and 'ſimple death is the leaſt misfortune which can happen to them. This 'forms a ſervice truly critical, in which all the firmneſs of the body and 'mind is put to the ſevereſt trial; and all the exertions of courage and addreſs 'are called out. If the actions of theſe rude campaigns are of leſs dignity, 'the adventures in them are more intereſting to the heart, and more amu-'ſing to the imagination, than the events of a regular war.

'BUT to return to the party of Engliſh, whom we left in the woods. At 'the firſt dawn of light the ſavages began to declare themſelves, all about the 'camp, at the diſtance of about 500 yards; and by ſhouting and yelling in the 'moſt horrid manner, quite round that extenſive circumference, endeavoured 'to ſtrike terror by an oſtentation of their numbers, and their ferocity.

'After this alarming preparative, they attacked our forces, and, under 'the favour of an inceſſant fire, made ſeveral bold efforts to penetrate into 'the camp. They were repulſed in every attempt, but by no means diſcou-'raged from new ones. Our troops, continually victorious, were continu-'ally in danger. They were beſides extremely fatigued with a long march, 'and with the equally long action, of the preceding day; and they were 'diſtreſſed to the laſt degree by a total want of water, much more intoler-'able than the enemy's fire.

'Tied to their convoy, they could not loſe ſight of it for a moment, with-'out expoſing, not only that intereſting object, but their wounded men, to 'fall a prey to the ſavages, who preſſed them on every ſide. To move was 'impracticable. Many of the horſes were loſt, and many of the drivers, 'ſtupefied by their fears, hid themſelves in the buſhes, and were incapable 'of hearing or obeying orders.

'Their ſituation became extremely critical and perplexing, having expe-'rienced that the moſt lively efforts made no impreſſion upon an enemy, 'who always gave way when preſſed; but who, the moment the purſuit was 'over, returned with as much alacrity as ever to the attack. Beſieged ra-'ther than engaged; attacked without interruption, and without deciſion; 'able neither to advance nor to retreat, they ſaw before them the moſt me-'lancholy proſpect of crumbling away by degrees, and entirely periſhing 'without revenge or honour, in the midſt of thoſe dreadful deſarts. The 'fate of Braddock was every moment before their eyes; but they were 'more ably conducted.

'The commander was ſenſible that every thing depended upon bringing 'the ſavages to a cloſe engagement, and to ſtand their ground when at-'tacked. Their audaciouſneſs, which had increaſed with their ſucceſs, 'ſeemed favourable to this deſign. He endeavoured, therefore, to increaſe 'their confidence as much as poſſible.

'For that purpoſe he contrived the following ſtratagem. Our troops were 'poſted on an eminence, and formed a circle round their convoy from the 'preceding night, which order they ſtill retained. Col. Bouquet gave di-'rections, that two companies of his troops, who had been poſted in the moſt 'advanced ſituations, ſhould fall within the circle; the troops on the right

'and left immediately opened their files, and filled up the vacant ſpace, that 'they might ſeem to cover their retreat. Another company of light infan-'try, with one of grenadiers, were ordered "to lie in ambuſcade," to ſup-'port the two firſt companies of grenadiers, who moved on the feigned re-'treat, and were intended to begin the real attack. The diſpoſitions were 'well made, and the plan executed without the leaſt confuſion.

'The ſavages gave entirely into the ſnare. The thin line of troops, 'which took poſſeſſion of the ground which the two companies of light foot 'had left, being brought in nearer to the center of the circle, the barbarians 'miſtook thoſe motions for a retreat, abandoned the woods which covered 'them, hurried headlong on, and advancing with the moſt daring intrepi-'dity, galled the Engliſh troops with their heavy fire. But at the very 'moment when, certain of ſucceſs, they thought themſelves maſters of the 'camp, the two firſt companies made a ſudden turn, and ſallying out from 'a part of the hill, which could not be obſerved, fell furiouſly upon their 'right flank.

'The ſavages, though they found themſelves diſappointed and expoſed, 'preſerved their recollection, and reſolutely returned the fire which they had 'received. Then it was the ſuperiority of combined ſtrength and diſcipline 'appeared. On the ſecond charge they could no longer ſuſtain the irre-'ſiſtible ſhock of the regular troops, who ruſhing upon them, killed many, 'and put the reſt to flight.

'At the inſtant when the ſavages betook themſelves to flight, the other 'two companies, which had been ordered to ſupport the firſt, roſe "from "the ambuſcade," marched to the enemy, and gave them their full fire. 'This accompliſhed their defeat. The four companies now united, did not 'give them time to look behind them, but purſued the enemy till they were 'totally diſperſed.

'The other bodies of the ſavages attempted nothing. They were kept 'in awe during the engagement by the reſt of the Britiſh troops, who were 'ſo poſted as to be ready to fall on them upon the leaſt motion. Having 'been witneſſes to the defeat of their companions, without any effort to ſup-'port or aſſiſt them, they at length followed their example and fled.

'This

'THIS judicious and ſucceſsful manœuvre reſcued the party from the 'moſt imminent danger. The victory ſecured the field, and cleared all the 'adjacent woods. But ſtill the march was ſo difficult, and the army had ſuf-'fered ſo much, and ſo many horſes were loſt, that before they were able to 'proceed' they were reluctantly obliged to deſtroy ſuch part of their con-'voy of proviſions as they could not carry with them for want of horſes. 'Being lightened by this ſacrifice, they proceeded to Buſhy-Run, where 'finding water, they encamped.'

A PLAN of this engagement is annexed, and it was thought the more neceſſary here to inſert a particular account of it, as the new manœuvres † and ſkilful conduct of the commander, ſeem to have been the principal means, not only of preſerving his army in the moſt critical ſituation, but likewiſe of enſuring them a compleat victory.

THE enemy loſt about ſixty men on this occaſion, ſome of them their chief warriors; which they reputed a very ſevere ſtroke. They had likewiſe many wounded in the purſuit. The Engliſh loſt about fifty men and had about ſixty wounded.

THE ſavages, thus ſignally defeated in all their attempts to cut off this reinforcement upon its march, began to retreat with the utmoſt precipitation to their remote ſettlements, wholly giving up their deſigns againſt Fort-Pitt; at which place Col. Bouquet arrived ſafe with his convoy, four days after the action; receiving no further moleſtation on the road, except a few ſcattered ſhot from a diſheartened and flying enemy.

HERE the Colonel was obliged to put an end to the operations of this campaign, not having a ſufficient force to purſue the enemy beyond the Ohio and take advantage of the victory obtained over them; nor having any reaſon to expect a timely reinforcement from the provinces in their diſtreſſed ſituation. He was therefore forced to content himſelf with ſupplying Fort-Pitt, and other places on the communication, with proviſions, ammunition, and

† Another reaſon for being ſo particular in this account, is that the military papers annexed to this work, and the plan for carrying on any future war with the Indians, were compoſed upon the experience of this engagement, by an officer long employed in the ſervice he deſcribes. His own improvement was his principal motive in the compoſition of them; but being told that they might convey many uſeful hints to others, and be of much ſervice if laid before the public, he was pleaſed, upon my requeſt, freely to communicate them to me for that purpoſe.

ſtores;

ſtores; ſtationing his ſmall army to the beſt advantage he could, againſt the approach of winter.

THE tranſactions of the ſucceeding campaign, will be the ſubject of the following work, and we ſhall conclude this introduction, by ſhewing the ſenſe which his Majeſty was pleaſed to entertain, of the conduct and bravery of the officers and army, on this trying occaſion.

HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW-YORK, Jan. 5, 1764.

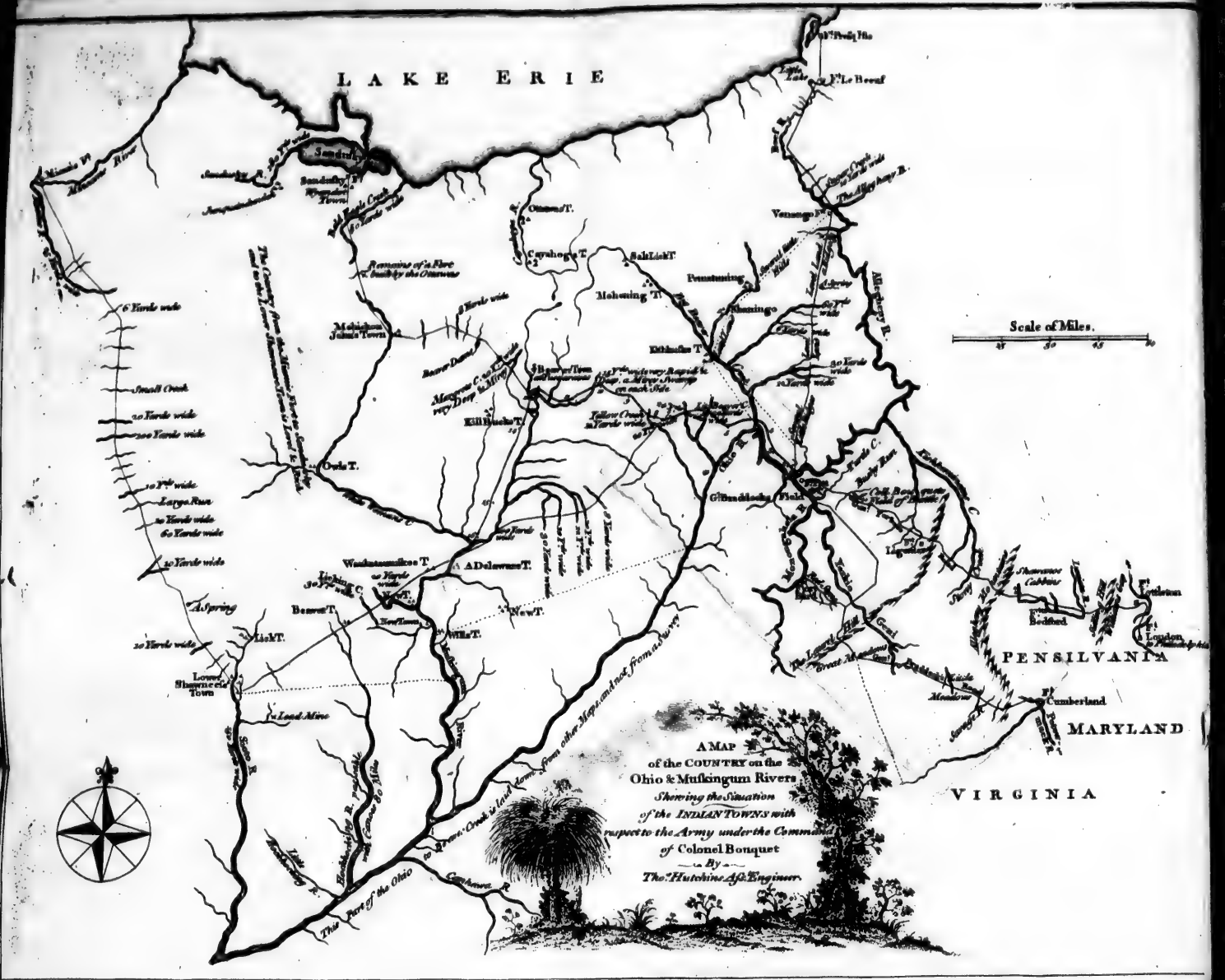
ORDERS.

"HIS Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify to the commander "in chief, his royal approbation of the conduct and bravery of Col. "BOUQUET, and the officers and troops under his command, in the two "actions of the 5th and 6th of Auguſt; in which, notwithſtanding the "many circumſtances of difficulty and diſtreſs they laboured under, and "the unuſual ſpirit and reſolution of the Indians, they repelled and de-"feated the repeated attacks of the Savages, and conducted their convoy "ſafe to Fort-Pitt.

"Signed MONCREIF,
"Major of Brigade."

To Colonel BOUQUET,
or officer commanding at Fort-Pitt.

COLONEL BOUQUET, as before mentioned, not having a ſufficient number of troops to garriſon the different poſts, under his command, and at the ſame time to croſs the Ohio and take advantage of the dejection into which he had thrown the enemy, by the defeat at Buſhy-Run, was obliged


LAKE ERIE
Scale of Miles.
PENSILVANIA
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
A MAP
of the COUNTRY on the
Ohio & Muskingum Rivers
Shewing the Situation
of the INDIAN TOWNS with
respect to the Army under the Command
of Colonel Bouquet
By
The.s Hutchins Aid. Engineer.

A SURVEY
of that part of the
INDIAN COUNTRY
through which
Colonel Bouquet
Marched in 1764
By Thomas Hutchins
Assistant Engineer.
Scale of Miles.

AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

COLONEL BOUQUET's EXPEDITION

AGAINST THE OHIO INDIANS IN THE YEAR 1764.

IN the preceding introduction, ſome account hath been given of the ſudden, treacherous and unprovoked attack, made by the Indians upon the frontiers of Pennſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, ſoon after the publication of the general Peace, at a time when we were but juſt beginning to reſpire from our former calamities, and looked for an approach of quiet on every ſide. The principal tranſactions of the campaign 1763 have likewiſe been briefly recapitulated, and the reader informed by what means the editor became poſſeſſed of the valuable papers, which have enabled him to bring the hiſtory of this Indian war to a concluſion, and furniſhed the materials of the following ſheets.

COLONEL BOUQUET, as before mentioned, not having a ſufficient number of troops to garriſon the different poſts, under his command, and at the ſame time to croſs the Ohio and take advantage of the dejection into which he had thrown the enemy, by the defeat at Buſhy-Run, was obliged

to reſtrain his operations to the ſupplying the forts with proviſions, ammunition and other neceſſaries.

In the execution of this ſervice, he received no annoyance from the enemy, for they now ſaw themſelves not only forced to give up their deſigns againſt Fort-Pitt; but, retreating beyond the Ohio, they deſerted their former towns, and abandoned all the country between Preſque-Iſle and Sanduſki; not thinking themſelves ſafe till they arrived at Muſkingam.

Here they began to form new ſettlements, and remained quiet during the winter. But, in the mean time, having ſupplied themſelves with powder, &c. from the French traders, (and now flattering themſelves that the great diſtance of their ſettlements would render them inacceſſible to our troops) the enſuing ſpring 1764 preſented theſe ſavage enemies afreſh on our frontiers, ravaging and murdering with their uſual barbarity.

To chaſtiſe them for their perfidy, General Gage reſolved to attack them on two different ſides, and to force them from our frontiers; by carrying the war into the heart of their own country. With this view, he deſtined a corps of troops to proceed under Col. Bradſtreet, to act againſt the Wiandots, Ottawas, Chipwas and other nations, living upon or near the lakes; while another corps, under the command of Col. Bouquet, ſhould attack the Delawares, Shawaneſe, Mingoes, Mohickons, and other nations, between the Ohio and the lakes.

These two corps were to act in concert; and as that of Col. Bradſtreet could be ready much ſooner than the other, he was to proceed to Detroit, Michilimackinac and other places. On his return, he was to encamp and remain at Sanduſki, to awe, by that poſition, the numerous tribes of weſtern Indians, ſo as to prevent their ſending any aſſiſtance to the Ohio Indians, while Colonel Bouquet ſhould execute his plan of attacking them in the heart of their ſettlements.

Col.

Col. Bouquet's expedition was to proceed altogether by land, and was on that account attended with great difficulties. His men were to penetrate through a continued depth of woods, and a ſavage unexplored country; without roads, without poſts, and without a retreat if they failed of ſucceſs. When once engaged in theſe deſerts, they had no convoy, nor any kind of aſſiſtance to expect. Every thing was to be carried with them — their ammunition, baggage, tools, ſtores, and proviſions neceſſary for the troops during the whole expedition. And beſides, they were liable to many embarraſments, and difficulties which no prudence could foreſee, ſcarce any caution prevent; ſo that, in this account, ſundry things, which, in the uſual method of conducting military operations, might not be thought worthy of a detail, may nevertheleſs be found highly ſerviceable to thoſe who may afterwards be employed in this ſpecies of war, which is new to Europeans, who muſt ſubmit to be inſtructed in it by experience, and in many articles even by the ſavages themſelves.

Part of the 42d and 60th regiments were ordered on this expedition, and were to be joined by two hundred friendly Indians, and the troops required of Virginia and Pennſylvania. The Indians never came, and the Virginians pleaded their inability to raiſe men, having already in pay about 700 militia for the defence of their own frontier. In Pennſylvania, a bill for raiſing 1000 men was paſſed May 30th; but, with the utmoſt diligence that could be uſed, the number could not be compleated till the beginning of Auguſt.

On the 5th of that month, the men being aſſembled at Carliſle, one hundred and eighteen miles to the weſtward of Philadelphia, Governor Penn, who had accompanied Col. Bouquet to that place, acquainted the two Pennſylvania battalions with the neceſſity we were laid under of chaſtiſing the Indians "for their repeated and unprovoked barbarities on the "inhabitants of the Province; a juſt reſentment of which, added to a re-"membrance of the loyalty and courage of our provincial troops on for-"mer occaſions, he did not doubt, would animate them to do honour to "their country; and that they could not but hope to be crowned with "ſucceſs, as they were to be united with the ſame regular troops, and

" under the ſame able commander, who had by themſelves, on that very " day, the memorable 5th of Auguſt in the preceding year, ſuſtained the " repeated attacks of the ſavages, and obtained a compleat victory over " them." — He alſo reminded them " of the exemplary puniſhments " that would be inflicted on the grievous crime of deſertion, if any of " them were capable of ſo far forgetting their ſolemn oath and duty to " their king and country, as to be involved in it."

Col. Bouquet then aſſumed the command of the regular and provincial troops; and the four following days were ſpent in the neceſſary preparations for their march; the Colonel giving the moſt expreſs orders to the officers and men to obſerve ſtrict diſcipline, and not to commit the leaſt violation of the civil rights or peace of the inhabitants. — He, at the ſame time, made the moſt prudent regulations for a ſafe and commodious carriage of the baggage, taking care to rid himſelf of all unneceſſary incumbrances.

The 13th of Auguſt this ſmall army got to Fort Loudoun; but notwithſtanding all the precautions taken to prevent deſertion, the Pennſylvania troops were now reduced to about 700 men. The Colonel was therefore under a neceſſity to apply to the government of that province to enable him to compleat their number to the full complement; which was generouſly granted by a reſolve of the Governor and Commiſſioners Auguſt 16th; and the army advancing now beyond the ſettled parts of Pennſylvania, he made application to the colony of Virginia, where (under the countenance of Governor Fauquier) the men wanted were ſoon raiſed, and joined the army at Pittſburg, about the latter end of September.

Nothing material happened in their march, from Fort Loudoun to Fort Pitt, (formerly Fort Du Queſne) on the Ohio, three hundred and twenty miles weſt from Philadelphia; at which place Col. Bouquet arrived the 17th of September.

During this interval, ſeveral large convoys were forwarded under ſtrong eſcorts; and though the enemy continued their ravages all that time

time on the frontiers, they durſt not attack any of thoſe convoys, which all arrived ſafe at Fort Pitt.

While Col. Bouquet was at Fort Loudoun, he received diſpatches by expreſs from Colonel Bradſtreet, dated from Preſque-Iſle Auguſt 14th, acquainting him that he (Colonel Bradſtreet) had concluded a peace with the Delawares and Shawaneſe; but Colonel Bouquet perceiving clearly that they were not ſincere in their intentions, as they continued their murders and depredations, he determined to proſecute his plan without remiſſion, till he ſhould receive further inſtructions from General Gage; who, upon the ſame principles, refuſed to ratify the treaty, and renewed his orders to both armies to attack the enemy.

About the time of Colonel Bouquet's arrival at Fort Pitt, ten Indians appeared on the north ſide of the Ohio, deſiring a conference; which ſtratagem the ſavages had made uſe of before, to obtain intelligence of our numbers and intentions. Three of the party conſented, though with apparent reluctance, to come over to the Fort; and as they could give no ſatisfactory reaſon for their viſit, they were detained as ſpies, and their aſſociates fled back to their towns.

On the 20th of September Colonel Bouquet ſent one of the above three Indians after them with a meſſage, in ſubſtance as follows—"I have "received an account from Colonel Bradſtreet that your nations had "begged for peace, which he had conſented to grant, upon aſſurance that "you had recalled all your warriors from our frontiers; and in conſe- "quence thereof, I would not have proceeded againſt your towns, if I "had not heard that, in open violation of your engagements, you have "ſince murdered ſeveral of our people.

"As ſoon as the reſt of the army joins me, which I expect imme- "diately, I was therefore determined to have attacked you, as a people "whoſe promiſes can no more be relied on. But I will put it once more "in your power to ſave yourſelves and your families from total deſtruction, "by giving us ſatisfaction for the hoſtilities committed againſt us. And

"firſt

" firſt you are to leave the path open for my expreſſes from hence to " Detroit; and as I am now to ſend two men with diſpatches to " Colonel Bradſtreet who commands on the lakes, I deſire to know " whether you will ſend two of your people with them to bring them " ſafe back with an anſwer? And if they receive any injury either " in going or coming, or if the letters are taken from them, I will " immediately put the Indians now in my power to death, and will " ſhew no mercy for the future to any of your nations that ſhall fall " into my hands. I allow you ten days to have my letters delivered at " Detroit, and ten days to bring me back an anſwer."

He added " that he had lately had it in his power, while they remained " on the other ſide of the river, to have put their whole party to " death, which puniſhment they had deſerved by their former treachery; " and that if they did not improve the clemency now offered to them, by " returning back as ſoon as poſſible with all their priſoners, they might " expect to feel the full weight of a juſt vengeance and reſentment."—

We have been the more particular in our account of this firſt tranſaction with the Indians; becauſe the Colonel's firm and determined conduct in opening the campaign, had happy effects in the proſecution of it, and ſhews by what methods theſe faithleſs ſavages are to be beſt reduced to reaſon.

On the 1ſt of October, two of the Six Nation tribes, an Onondago and Oneida Indian, came to Fort Pitt, and under colour of our ancient friendſhip with them, and their pretended regard to the Engliſh, endeavoured to diſſuade the Colonel from proceeding with the army. They told him that his force was not ſufficient to withſtand the power of the numerous nations through whoſe countries he was to paſs, and aſſured him that if he would wait a little, they would all come and make peace with him; at the ſame time recommending it particularly to him to ſend back the two Indians detained as ſpies. Theſe little arts being clearly made uſe of to ſpin out the ſeaſon till the approach of winter ſhould render it impoſſible to proceed, they made but little impreſſion. He told them

that

that he could not depend on the promiſes of the Delawares and Shawaneſe; and was determined to proceed to Tuſcarowas, where, if they had any thing to ſay, he would hear them.

In the mean time, he was uſing the utmoſt diligence to prepare for his march, and was obliged to enforce the ſevereſt diſcipline. One woman belonging to each corps, and two nurſes for the general hoſpital, were all that were permitted to follow the army. The other women in the camp, and thoſe unneceſſary in the garriſon, were ordered immediately down the country into the ſettlements. Two ſoldiers were ſhot for deſertion; an example which became abſolutely neceſſary to ſuppreſs a crime which, in ſuch an expedition, would have been attended with fatal conſequences, by weakening an army already too ſmall.

Colonel Bouquet, having at length, with great difficulty, collected his troops, formed his magazines, and provided for the ſafety of the poſts he was to leave behind him, was ready on the 2d of October to proceed from Fort Pitt, with about 1500 men, including drivers and other neceſſary followers of the army.

As a juſt idea of the conduct of this expedition, and the great caution taken to prevent ſurprize, will be beſt obtained from the order of march, we ſhall here inſert it, with a Copper Plate for the illuſtration of it, and an accurate Draught, taken from actual ſurveys, of the road and adjacent country, through which the army paſſed.

The Colonel, expreſſing the greateſt confidence in the bravery of the troops, told them, "he did not doubt but this war would ſoon be ended, "under God, to their own honor, and the future ſafety of their country, "provided the men were ſtrictly obedient to orders, and guarded againſt "the ſurprizes and ſudden attacks of a treacherous enemy, who never "dared to face Britiſh troops in an open field; that the diſtance of the "enemy's towns, and the clearing roads to them, muſt neceſſarily require "a conſiderable time; that the troops in thoſe deſerts, had no other "ſupplies to expect but the ammunition and proviſions they carried with

" them; and that therefore the utmoſt care and frugality would be " neceſſary in the uſe of them." He publiſhed the ſevereſt penalties againſt thoſe who ſhould be found guilty of ſtealing or embezzling any part of them, and ordered his March in the following manner.—

A CORPS of Virginia * volunteers advanced before the whole; detaching three ſcouting parties. One of them, furniſhed with a guide, marched in the center path, which the army was to follow. The other two extended themſelves in a line a-breaſt, on the right and left of the aforeſaid party, to reconnoitre the woods.

UNDER cover of this corps, the ax-men, conſiſting of all the artificers, and two companies of light infantry, followed in three diviſions, under the direction of the chief engineer, to clear three different paths, in which the troops and the convoy followed, viz.—

THE front-face of the ſquare, compoſed of part of the 42d regiment, marched in a column, two deep, in the center path.

THE right face of the ſquare, compoſed of the remainder of the 42d and of the 60th regiment, marched in a ſingle file in the right-hand path.

THE firſt battalion of Pennſylvanians compoſed the left face, marching in like manner in the path to the left of the center.

THE corps de reſerve, compoſed of two platoons of grenadiers, followed the right and left faces of the ſquare.

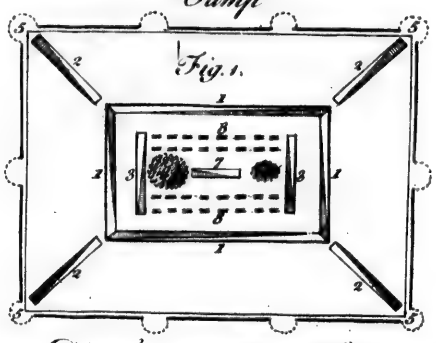
THE 2d battalion of Pennſylvanians formed the rear face of the ſquare, and followed the corps de reſerve, each in a ſingle file, on the right and left hand paths; all theſe troops covering the convoy, which moved in the center path.

* Theſe were the men raiſed in Virginia to compleat the Pennſylvania troops, and were in the pay of the laſt mentioned province.

A PARTY

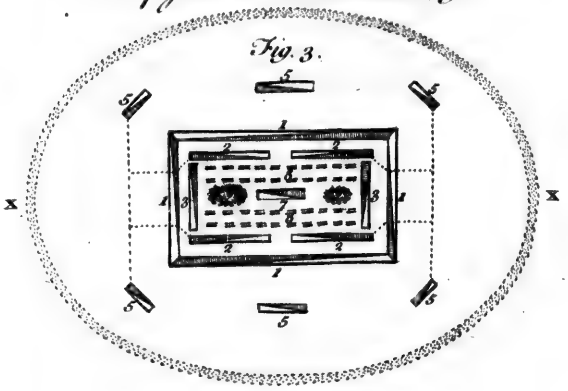
Camp

Fig. 1.



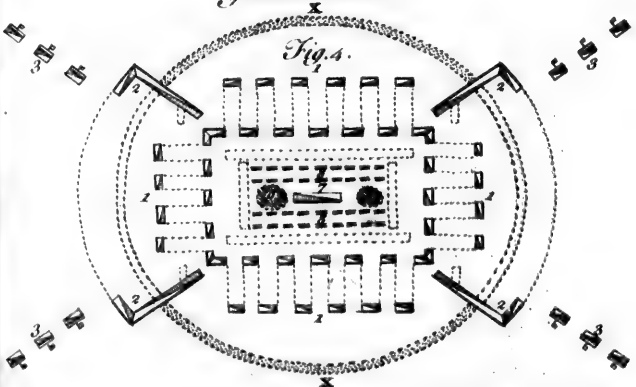
Disposition to receive the Enemy.

Fig. 3.



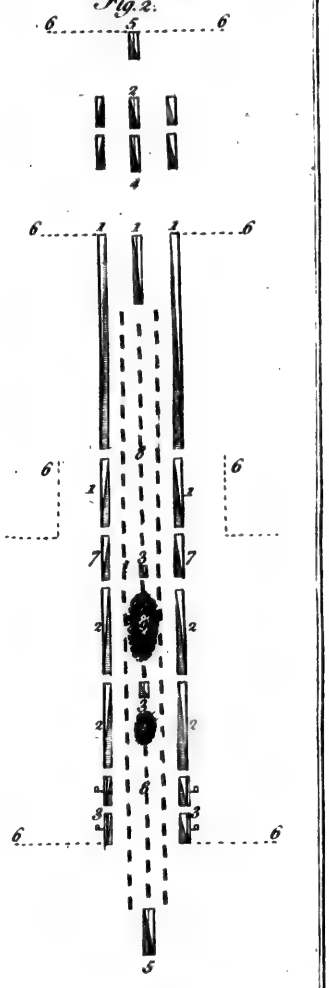
General Attack

Fig. 4.



Line of March

Fig. 2.



Scale of Feet.

200 400 800 1000

REFERENCES.

1. Regular Troops.	4. Artificers.	7. Reserve.	9. Cattle.
2. Hunters.	5. Advanced Guards.	8. Baggage and Provisions.	x. The Enemy.
3. Light Horse.	6. Flankers.		

A PARTY of light horſe-men marched behind the rear-face of the ſquare, followed by another corps of Virginia volunteers, forming the rear-guard.

THE Pennſylvania volunteers, dividing themſelves equally, and marching in a ſingle file, at a proper diſtance, flanked the right and left faces of the ſquare.

THIS was the general order of march. Nor was leſs attention paid to particular matters of a ſubordinate nature. The ammunition and tools were placed in the rear of the firſt column, or front face of the ſquare, followed by the officers' baggage, and tents. The oxen and ſheep came after the baggage, in ſeparate droves, properly guarded. The proviſions came next to the baggage, in four diviſions, or brigades of pack-horſes, each conducted by a horſe maſter.

THE troops were ordered to obſerve the moſt profound ſilence, and the men to march at two yards diſtance from one another. When the line or any part of it halted, the whole were to face outwards; and if attacked on their march, they were to halt immediately, ready to form the ſquare when ordered. The light horſe were then to march into the ſquare, with the cattle, proviſions, ammunition and baggage. Proper diſpoſitions were likewiſe made in caſe of an attack in the night; and for encampments, guards, communications between the centries, ſignals, and the like.

THINGS being thus ſettled, the army decamped from Fort-Pitt on Wedneſday October 3d, and marched about one mile and an half over a rich level country, with ſtately timber, to camp No. 2. a ſtrong piece of ground, pleaſantly ſituated, with plenty of water and food for cattle.

THURSDAY October 4th, having proceeded about two miles, they came to the Ohio, at the beginning of the narrows, and from thence followed the courſe of the river along a flat gravelly beech, about ſix miles and

a quarter; with two iſlands on their left, the lowermoſt about ſix miles long, with a riſing ground running acroſs, and gently ſloping on both ſides to its banks, which are high and upright. At the lower end of this iſland, the army left the river, marching through good land, broken with ſmall hollows to camp No. 3; this day's march being nine miles and a quarter. —

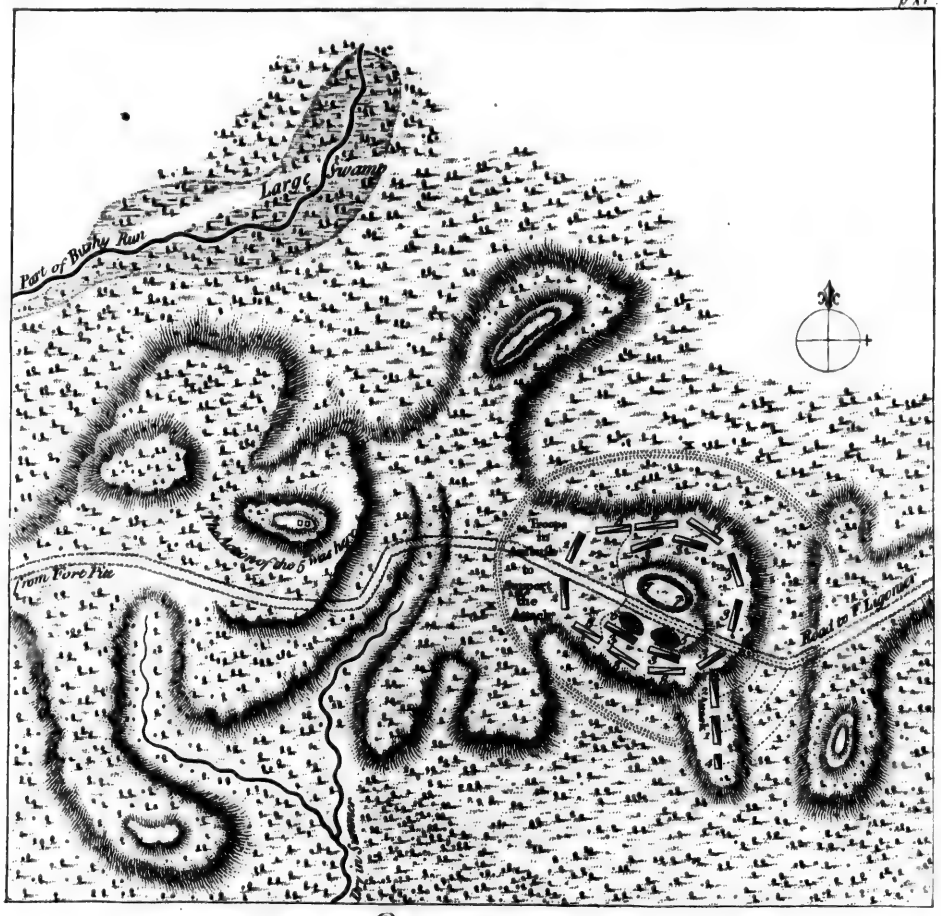
Friday October 5th. In this day's march the army paſſed through Loggs-town, ſituated ſeventeen miles and an half, fifty ſeven perches, by the path, from Fort-Pitt. This place was noted before the laſt war for the great trade carried on there by the Engliſh and French; but its inhabitants, the Shawaneſe and Delawares, abandoned it in the year 1750. The lower town extended about ſixty perches over a rich bottom to the foot of a low ſteep ridge, on the ſummit of which, near the declivity, ſtood the upper town, commanding a moſt agreeable proſpect over the lower, and quite acroſs the Ohio, which is about 500 yards wide here, and by its majeſtic eaſy current adds much to the beauty of the place. Proceeding beyond Logg's-town, through a fine country, interſperſed with hills and rich valleys, watered by many rivulets, and covered with ſtately timber, they came to camp No. 4; on a level piece of ground, with a thicket in the rear, a ſmall precipice round the front, with a run of water at the foot, and good food for cattle. This day's march was nine miles, one half, and fifty three perches.

Saturday October 6th, at about three miles diſtance from this camp, they came again to the Ohio, purſuing its courſe half a mile farther, and then turning off, over a ſteep ridge, they croſſed Big Beaver-creek, which is twenty perches wide, the ford ſtony and pretty deep. It runs through a rich vale, with a pretty ſtrong current, its banks high, the upland adjoining it very good, the timber tall and young. ——— About a mile below its confluence with the Ohio, ſtood formerly a large town, on a ſteep bank, built by the French of ſquare logs, with ſtone chimneys, for ſome of the Shawaneſe, Delaware and Mingo tribes, who abandoned it in the year 1758, when the French deſerted Fort Du Queſne. Near the fording of Beaver-creek alſo ſtood about ſeven houſes, which were

PLAN OF THE BATTLE NEAR BUSHY-RUN,

Gained by Colonel Bouquet, over the
Delawares, Shawaneſe, Mingoes, Wyandots, Mohikons, Miamies, & Ottawas;
on the 5th and 6th of August 1763.
Survey'd by **Thos Hutchins,** *Aſsistant Engineer.*

p XI



REFERENCES.

1. Grenadiers
2. Light Infantry
3. Battalion Men
4. Rangers
5. Cattle
6. Horses
7. Entrenchment of Bags for the Wounded
x. The Enemy
8. First Position of the Troops
□□ Graves

deſerted and deſtroyed by the Indians, after their defeat at Buſhy-run, when they forſook all their remaining ſettlements in this part of the country, as has been mentioned above.

About two miles before the army came to Beaver-creek, one of our people who had been made priſoner by ſix Delawares about a week before, near Fort Bedford, having made his eſcape from them, came and informed the Colonel that theſe Indians had the day before fallen in with the army, but kept themſelves concealed, being ſurpriſed at our numbers. Two miles beyond Beaver-creek, by two ſmall ſprings, was ſeen the ſcull of a child, that had been fixed on a pole by the Indians. The Tracts of 15 Indians were this day diſcovered. The camp No. 5 is ſeven miles one quarter and fifty ſeven perches from big Beaver-creek; the whole march of this day being about twelve miles.

Sunday 7th October, paſſing a high ridge, they had a fine proſpect of an extenſive country to the right, which in general appeared level, with abundance of tall timber. The camp No. 6 lies at the foot of a ſteep deſcent, in a rich valley, on a ſtrong ground, three ſides thereof ſurrounded by a hollow, and on the fourth ſide a ſmall hill, which was occupied by a detached guard. This day's march was ſix miles ſixty five perches.

Monday 8th October, the army croſſed little Beaver-creek, and one of its branches. This creek is eight perches wide, with a good ford, the country about it interſperſed with hills, rivulets and rich valleys, like that deſcribed above. Camp No. 7 lies by a ſmall run on the ſide of a hill, commanding the ground about it, and is diſtant eleven miles one quarter and forty nine perches from the laſt encampment.

Tuesday October 9th. In this day's march, the path divided into two branches, that to the ſouthweſt leading to the lower towns upon the Muſkingham. In the forks of the path ſtand ſeveral trees painted by the Indians, in a hieroglyphic manner, denoting the number of wars in which they have been engaged, and the particulars of their ſucceſs in priſoners

and ſcalps. The camp No. 8. lies on a run, and level piece of ground, with Yellow-creek cloſe on the left, and a riſing ground near the rear of the right face. The path after the army left the forks was ſo bruſhy and entangled, that they were obliged to cut all the way before them, and alſo to lay ſeveral bridges, in order to make it paſſable for the horſes; ſo that this day they proceeded only five miles, three quarters and ſeventy perches.

WEDNESDAY 10th. Marched one mile with Yellow-creek on the left at a ſmall diſtance all the way, and croſſed it at a good ford fifty feet wide; proceeding through an alternate ſucceſſion of ſmall hills and rich vales, finely watered with rivulets, to camp No. 9. ſeven miles and ſixty perches in the whole.

THURSDAY 11th. Croſſed a branch of Muſkingham river about fifty feet wide, the country much the ſame as that deſcribed above, diſcovering a good deal of free-ſtone. The camp No. 10. had this branch of the river parallel to its left face, and lies ten miles one quarter and forty perches from the former encampment.

FRIDAY 12th. Keeping the aforeſaid creek on their left, they marched through much fine land, watered with ſmall rivers and ſprings; proceeding likewiſe through ſeveral ſavannahs or cleared ſpots, which are by nature extremely beautiful; the ſecond which they paſſed being, in particular, one continued plain of near two miles, with a fine riſing ground forming a ſemicircle round the right hand ſide, and a pleaſant ſtream of water at about a quarter of a mile diſtant on the left. The camp No. 11. has the abovementioned branch of Muſkingham on the left, and is diſtant ten miles and three quarters from the laſt encampment.

SATURDAY 13th. Croſſed Nemenſhehelas creek, about fifty feet wide, a little above where it empties itſelf into the aforeſaid branch of Muſkingham, having in their way a pleaſant proſpect over a large plain, for near two miles on the left. A little further, they came to another ſmall river which they croſſed about fifty perches above where it empties into

the ſaid branch of Muſkingham. Here a high ridge on the right, and the creek cloſe on the left, form a narrow defile about ſeventy perches long. Paſſing afterwards over a very rich bottom, they came to the main branch of Muſkingham, about ſeventy yards wide, with a good ford. A little below and above the forks of this river is Tuſcarowas, a place exceedingly beautiful by ſituation, the lands rich on both ſides of the river; the country on the north-weſt ſide being an entire level plain, upwards of five miles in circumference. From the ruined houſes appearing here, the Indians who inhabited the place and are now with the Delawares, are ſuppoſed to have had about one hundred and fifty warriors. This camp No. 12. is diſtant eight miles nineteen perches from the former.

Sunday 14th. The army remained in camp; and two men who had been diſpatched by Colonel Bouquet from Fort-Pitt, with letters for Colonel Bradſtreet, returned and reported? — "That, within a few miles "of this place, they had been made priſoners by the Delawares, and "carried to one of their towns ſixteen miles from hence, where they "were kept, till the ſavages, knowing of the arrival of the army here, "ſet them at liberty, ordering them to acquaint the Colonel that the head "men of the Delawares and Shawaneſe were coming as ſoon as poſſible to "treat of peace with him."

Monday 15th. The army moved two miles forty perches further down the Muſkingham to camp No. 13, ſituated on a very high bank, with the river at the foot of it, which is upwards of 100 yards wide at this place, with a fine level country at ſome diſtance from its banks, producing ſtately timber, free from underwood, and plenty of food for cattle.

The day following, ſix Indians came to inform the Colonel that all their chiefs were aſſembled about eight miles from the camp, and were ready to treat with him of peace, which they were earneſtly deſirous of obtaining. He returned for anſwer that he would meet them the next day in a bower at ſome diſtance from the camp. In the mean time, he ordered a ſmall ſtockaded fort to be built to depoſite proviſions for the uſe of the troops on their return; and to lighten the convoy.

As

As ſeveral large bodies of Indians were now within a few miles of the camp, whoſe former inſtances of treachery, although they now declared they came for peace, made it prudent to truſt nothing to their intentions, the ſtricteſt orders were repeated to prevent a ſurpriſe.

WEDNESDAY 17th. The Colonel, with moſt of the regular troops, Virginia volunteers and light horſe, marched from the camp to the bower erected for the congreſs. And ſoon after the troops were ſtationed, ſo as to appear to the beſt advantage, the Indians arrived, and were conducted to the bower. Being ſeated, they began, in a ſhort time, to ſmoak their pipe or calumet, agreeable to their cuſtom. This ceremony being over, their ſpeakers laid down their pipes, and opened their pouches, wherein were their ſtrings and belts of wampum. The Indians preſent were,

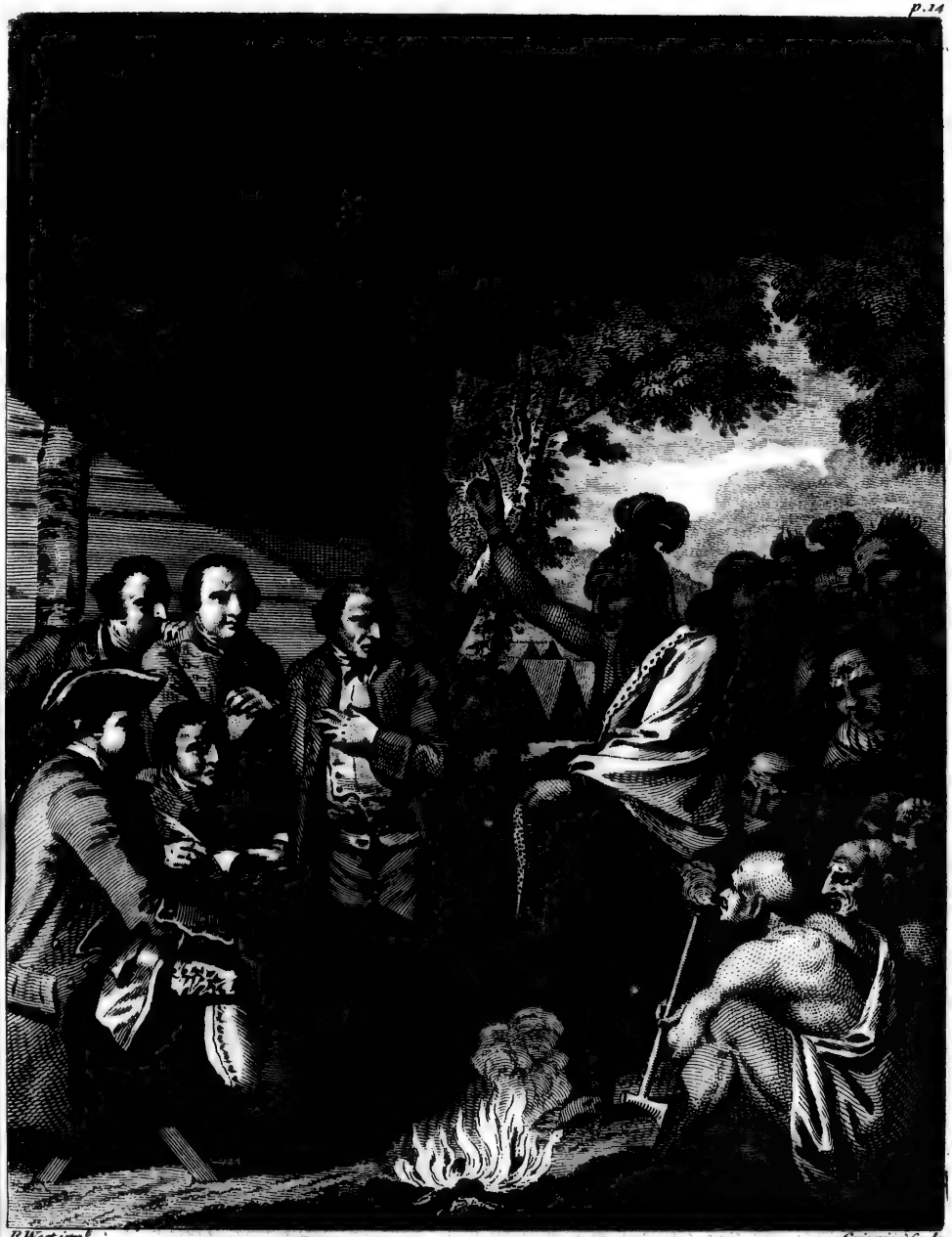
SENECAS.	DELAWARES.	SHAWANESE.
Kiyaſhuta, chief with 15 warriors.	Cuſtaloga, chief of the Wolfe-tribe, Beaver, chief of the Turky-tribe, with 20 warriors.	Keiſſinautchtha, a chief, and 6 warriors.

Kiyaſhuta, Turtle-Heart, Cuſtaloga and Beaver, were the ſpeakers.

THE general ſubſtance of what they had to offer, conſiſted in excuſes for their late treachery and miſconduct, throwing the blame on the raſhneſs of their young men and the nations living to the weſtward of them, ſuing for peace in the moſt abject manner, and promiſing ſeverally to deliver up all their priſoners. After they had concluded, the Colonel promiſed to give them an anſwer the next day, and then diſmiſſed them, the army returning to the camp. — The badneſs of the weather, however, prevented his meeting them again till the 20th, when he ſpoke to them in ſubſtance as follows, viz.

" THAT their pretences to palliate their guilt by throwing the blame " on the weſtern nations, and the raſhneſs of their young men, were " weak and frivolous, as it was in our power to have protected them " againſt all theſe nations, if they had ſolicited our aſſiſtance, and that

" it



B. West inv.t Grignion sculp.

The Indians giving a Talk to Colonel Bouquet in a Conference at a Council Fire, near his Camp on the Banks of Muskingum in North. America, in Oct.r 1764.

" it was their own duty to have chaſtiſed their young men when they " did wrong, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be directed by them."

He recapitulated to them many inſtances of their former perfidy — " their killing or captivating the traders who had been ſent among " them at their own requeſt, and plundering their effects; — their at- " tacking Fort Pitt, which had been built with their expreſs conſent; " their murdering four men that had been ſent on a public meſſage " to them, thereby violating the cuſtoms held ſacred among all " nations, however barbarous; —— their attacking the King's troops " laſt year in the woods, and after being defeated in that attempt, " falling upon our frontiers, where they had continued to murder our " people to this day, &c." ——

He told them how treacherouſly they had violated even their late engagements with Colonel Bradſtreet, to whom they had promiſed to deliver up their priſoners by the 10th of September laſt, and to recall all their warriors from the frontiers, which they had been ſo far from complying with, that the priſoners ſtill remained in their cuſtody, and ſome of their people were even now continuing their depredations; adding, that theſe things which, he had mentioned, were only " a ſmall " part of their numberleſs murders and breaches of faith; and that " their conduct had always been equally perfidious. —— You have, ſaid he, " promiſed at every former treaty, as you do now, that you would de- " liver up all your priſoners, and have received every time, on that " account, conſiderable preſents, but have never complied with that or " any other engagement. I am now to tell you, therefore, that we will " be no longer impoſed upon by your promiſes. This army ſhall not " leave your country till you have fully complied with every condition " that is to precede my treaty with you.

" I have brought with me the relations of the people you have maſſa- " cred, or taken priſoners. They are impatient for revenge; and it is " with great difficulty that I can protect you againſt their juſt reſentment, which

" which is only reſtrained by the aſſurances given them, that no peace " ſhall ever be concluded till you have given us full ſatisfaction." —

" YOUR former allies, the Ottawas, Chipwas, Wyandots, and others, " have made their peace with us. The Six Nations have joined us " againſt you. We now ſurround you, having poſſeſſion of all the waters " of the Ohio, the Miſſiſippi, the Miamis, and the lakes. All the " French living in thoſe parts are now ſubjects to the king of Great-" Britain, and dare no longer aſſiſt you. It is therefore in our power " totally to extirpate you from being a people —— But the Engliſh are a " merciful and generous nation, averſe to ſhed the blood, even of " their moſt cruel enemies; and if it was poſſible that you could " convince us, that you ſincerely repent of your paſt perfidy, and that " we could depend on your good behaviour for the future, you might yet " hope for mercy and peace —— If I find that you faithfully execute the " following preliminary conditions, I will not treat you with the ſeverity " you deſerve.

" I GIVE you twelve days from this date to deliver into my hands at " Wakatamake all the priſoners in your poſſeſſion, without any exception; " Engliſhmen, Frenchmen, women and children; whether adopted in " your tribes, married, or living amongſt you under any denomination " and pretence whatſoever, together with all negroes. And you are to " furniſh the ſaid priſoners with cloathing, proviſions, and horſes, to carry " them to Fort Pitt.

" WHEN you have fully complied with theſe conditions, you ſhall then " know on what terms you may obtain the peace you ſue for." —

THIS ſpeech made an impreſſion on the minds of the ſavages, which, it is hoped, will not ſoon be eradicated. The firm and determined ſpirit with which the Colonel delivered himſelf, their conſciouſneſs of the aggravated injuries they had done us, and the view of the ſame commander

mander and army that had ſo ſeverely chaſtiſed them at Buſhy-Run the preceding year, now advanced into the very heart of their remote ſettlements, after penetrating through wilderneſſes which they had deemed impaſſable by regular troops —— all theſe things contributed to bend the haughty temper of the ſavages to the loweſt degree of abaſement; ſo that even their ſpeeches ſeem to exhibit but few ſpecimens of that ſtrong and ferocious eloquence, which their inflexible ſpirit of independency has on former occaſions inſpired. And though it is not to be doubted, if an opportunity had offered, but they would have fallen upon our army with their uſual fierceneſs, yet when they ſaw the vigilance and ſpirit of our troops were ſuch, that they could neither be attacked nor ſurprized with any proſpect of ſucceſs, their ſpirits ſeemed to revolt from the one extreme of inſolent boldneſs, to the other of abject timidity. And happy will it be for them and for us, if the inſtances of our humanity and mercy, which they experienced in that critical ſituation, ſhall make as laſting impreſſions on their ſavage diſpoſitions, as it is believed the inſtances of our bravery and power have done; ſo that they may come to unite, with their fear of the latter, a love of the former; and have their minds gradually opened, by ſuch examples, to the mild dictates of peace and civility.

The reader, it is to be hoped, will readily excuſe this digreſſion, if it ſhould be thought one. I now reſume our narrative. The two Delaware chiefs, at the cloſe of their ſpeech on the 17th, delivered eighteen white priſoners, and eighty-three ſmall ſticks, expreſſing the number of other priſoners which they had in their poſſeſſion, and promiſed to bring in as ſoon as poſſible. None of the Shawaneſe Kings appeared at the congreſs, and Keiſſinautchtha their deputy declined ſpeaking until the Colonel had anſwered the Delawares, and then with a dejected ſullenneſs he promiſed, in behalf of his nation, that they would ſubmit to the terms preſcribed to the other tribes.

The Colonel, however, determined to march farther into their country, knowing that the preſence of his army would be the beſt ſecurity for

the performance of their promiſes; and required ſome of each nation to attend him in his march.

KIYASHUTA addreſſed the ſeveral nations, before their departure, "de-"ſiring them to be ſtrong in complying with their engagements, that "they might wipe away the reproach of their former breach of faith, "and convince their brothers the Engliſh that they could ſpeak the truth; "adding that he would conduct the army to the place appointed for re-"ceiving the priſoners."

MONDAY October 22d. The army attended by the Indian deputies, marched nine miles to camp No. 14. croſſing Margaret's creek about fifty feet wide —— The day following, they proceeded ſixteen miles one quarter and ſeventy ſeven perches farther to camp No. 15. and halted there one day.

THURSDAY 25. They marched ſix miles, one half and ſixteen perches to camp No. 16, ſituated within a mile of the Forks of Muſkingham; and this place was fixed upon inſtead of Wakautamike, as the moſt central and convenient place to receive the priſoners; for the principal Indian towns now lay round them, diſtant from ſeven to twenty miles; excepting only the lower Shawaneſe town ſituated on Scioto river, which was about eighty miles; ſo that from this place the army had it in their power to awe all the enemy's ſettlements and deſtroy their towns, if they ſhould not punctually fulfil the engagements they had entered into. —— Four redoubts were built here oppoſite to the four angles of the camp; the ground in the front was cleared, a ſtore-houſe for the proviſions erected, and likewiſe a houſe to receive, and treat of peace with, the Indians, when they ſhould return. Three houſes with ſeparate apartments were alſo raiſed for the reception of the captives of the reſpective provinces, and proper officers appointed to take charge of them, with a matron to attend the women and children; ſo that with the officers meſs houſes, ovens, &c. this camp had the appearance of a little town in which the greateſt order and regularity were obſerved.

ON

On Saturday 27th. A meſſenger arrived from king Cuſtaloga, informing that he was on his way with his priſoners, and alſo a meſſenger from the lower Shawaneſe towns of the like import. The Colonel however, having no reaſon to ſuſpect the latter nation of backwardneſs, ſent one of their own people, deſiring them — "to be punctual as to the time "fixed; to provide a ſufficient quantity of proviſions to ſubſiſt the pri- "ſoners; to bring the letters wrote to him laſt winter by the French "commandant at Fort Chartres, which ſome of their people had ſtopped "ever ſince;" adding that, "as their nation had expreſſed ſome un- "eaſineſs at our not ſhaking hands with them, they were to know that "the Engliſh never took their enemies by the hand, before peace was "finally concluded."

The day following, the Shawaneſe meſſenger returned, ſaying that when he had proceeded as far as Wakautamike, the chief of that town undertook to proceed with the meſſage himſelf, and deſired the other to return and acquaint the Engliſh that all his priſoners were ready, and he was going to the lower towns to haſten theirs.

October 28th. Peter the Caughnawaga chief, and twenty Indians of that nation arrived from Sanduſki, with a letter from Colonel Bradſtreet, in anſwer to one which Colonel Bouquet had ſent to him from Fort-Pitt, by two of the Indians who firſt ſpoke to him in favour of the Shawaneſe, as hath been already mentioned. The ſubſtance of Colonel Bradſtreet's letter was "that he had ſettled nothing with the Shawaneſe and Dela- "wares, nor received any priſoners from them. — That he had acquainted "all the Indian nations, as far as the Ilinois, the bay, &c. with the in- "ſtructions he had received from General Gage, reſpecting the peace he "had lately made; that he had been in Sanduſki-lake and up the river, "as far as navigable for Indian canoes, for near a month; but that he "found it impoſſible to ſtay longer in theſe parts; abſolute neceſſity "obliging him to turn off the other way," &c.

Colonel Bradstreet, without doubt, did all which circumſtances would permit, in his department; but his not being able to remain at

Sanduſki agreeable to the original plan, till matters were finally ſettled with the Ohio Indians, would have been an unfavourable incident, if Colonel Bouquet had not now had the chiefs of ſundry tribes with him, and was ſo far advanced into the Indian country, that they thought it adviſeable to ſubmit to the conditions impoſed upon them.

THE Caughnawagas reported that the Indians on the lakes had delivered but few of their priſoners; that the Ottawas had killed a great part of theirs, and the other nations had either done the ſame, or elſe kept them.

FROM this time to November 9th, was chiefly ſpent in ſending and receiving meſſages to and from the Indian towns, relative to the priſoners, who were now coming into the camp one day after another in ſmall parties, as the different nations arrived in whoſe poſſeſſion they had been. The Colonel kept ſo ſtedfaſtly to this article of having every priſoner delivered, that when the Delaware kings, Beaver and Cuſtaloga, had brought in all theirs except twelve, which they promiſed to bring in a few days, he refuſed to ſhake hands or have the leaſt talk with them, while a ſingle captive remained among them.

BY the 9th of November, moſt of the priſoners were arrived that could be expected this ſeaſon, amounting to 206 * in the whole; beſides about 100 more in poſſeſſion of the Shawaneſe, which they promiſed to deliver the following ſpring. Mr. Smallman, formerly a major in the Pennſylvania troops, who had been taken laſt ſummer near Detroit by the Wyandots, and delivered to the Shawaneſe, was among the number of thoſe whom they now brought in, and informed the Colonel that the reaſon of their not bringing the remainder of their priſoners, was that many of their principal men, to whom they belonged, were gone to trade with the French, and would not return for ſix weeks; but that every one of

* Virginians	Males,	32
	Females and Children,	58
Pennſylvanians,	Males,	49
	Females and Children,	67
	In all	206

their

their nation who were at home, had either brought or ſent theirs. He further ſaid that, on the army's firſt coming into the country, it had been reported among the Shawaneſe that our intention was to deſtroy them all, on which they had reſolved to kill their priſoners and fight us; that a French trader who was with them, and had many barrels of powder and ball, made them a preſent of the whole, as ſoon as they had come to this reſolution; but that, happily for the poor captives, juſt as the Shawaneſe were preparing to execute this tragedy, they received the Colonel's meſſage, informing them that his intentions were only to receive the priſoners and to make peace with them on the ſame terms he ſhould give to the Delawares.

On this intelligence they ſuſpended their cruel purpoſe, and began to collect as many of the priſoners as they had power to deliver; but hearing immediately afterwards that one of our ſoldiers had been killed near the camp at Muſkingham, and that ſome of their nation were ſuſpected as guilty of the murder, they again imagined they would fall under our reſentment, and therefore determined once more to ſtand out againſt us. For which purpoſe, after having brought their priſoners as far as Wakautamike, where they heard this news, they collected them all into a field, and were going to kill them, when a ſecond expreſs providentially arrived from Colonel Bouquet, who aſſured them that their nation was not even ſuſpected of having any concern in the aforeſaid murder; upon which they proceeded to the camp to deliver up the captives, who had thus twice ſo narrowly eſcaped becoming the victims of their barbarity.

On Friday, November 9th, the Colonel, attended by moſt of the principal officers, went to the conference-houſe. The Senecas and Delawares were firſt treated with. Kiyaſhuta and ten warriors repreſented the former. Cuſtaloga and twenty warriors the latter.

Kiyashuta ſpoke — "With this ſtring of wampum, we wipe the tears "from your eyes — we deliver you theſe three priſoners, which are the "laſt of your fleſh and blood that remained among the Senecas and Cuſ-"taloga's tribe of Delawares, we gather together and bury with this belt

" belt † all the bones of the people that have been killed during this un-
" happy war, which the Evil Spirit occaſioned among us. We cover
" the bones that have been buried, that they may be never more re-
" membered — We again cover their place with leaves that it may be no
" more ſeen. — As we have been long aſtray, and the path between you
" and us ſtopped, we extend this belt that it may be again cleared, and
" we may travel in peace to ſee our brethren as our anceſtors formerly
" did. While you hold it faſt by one end, and we by the other, we ſhall
" always be able to diſcover any thing that may diſturb our friendſhip."—

THE Colonel anſwered that " he had heard them with pleaſure; that he
" received theſe three laſt priſoners they had to deliver, and joined in bu-
" rying the bones of thoſe who had fallen in the war, ſo that their place
" might be no more known. The peace you aſk for, you ſhall now have.
" The king, my maſter and your father, has appointed me only to make
" war; but he has other ſervants who are employed in the work of peace.
" Sir William Johnſon is empowered for that purpoſe. To him you are to
" apply; but before I give you leave to go, two things are to be ſettled.

1. " As peace cannot be finally concluded here, you will deliver me two
" hoſtages for the Senecas, and two for Cuſtaloga's tribe, to remain in our
" hands at Fort Pitt, as a ſecurity, that you ſhall commit no further hoſti-
" lities or violence againſt any of his majeſty's ſubjects; and when the
" peace is concluded theſe hoſtages ſhall be delivered ſafe back to you.

2. " THE deputies you are to ſend to Sir William Johnſon, muſt be
" fully empowered to treat for your tribes, and you ſhall engage to abide
" by whatever they ſtipulate. In that treaty, every thing concerning
" trade and other matters will be ſettled by Sir William, to render the
" peace everlaſting; and the deputies you are to ſend to him, as well as
" the hoſtages to be delivered to me, are to be named and preſented to
" me for my approbation." ——

† A belt or ſtring is always delivered when thus mentioned.

THE

THE Colonel, after promiſing to deliver back two of their people, Capt. Pipe, and Capt. John, whom he had detained at Fort-Pitt, took the chiefs by the hand for the firſt time, which gave them great joy.

THE next conference was on November 10th, with the Turky and Turtle tribes of Delawares, King Beaver their chief and thirty warriors repreſenting the former; and Kelappama brother to their chief* with twenty-five warriors the latter. The Senecas and Cuſtaloga's tribe of Delawares were alſo preſent. Their ſpeech and the anſwer given, were much the ſame as above; excepting that the Colonel inſiſted on their delivering up an Engliſhman, who had murdered one of our people on the frontiers and brought the ſcalp to them; and that they ſhould appoint the ſame number of deputies and deliver the ſame number of hoſtages, for each of their tribes, as had been ſtipulated for Cuſtaloga's tribe.

NOVEMBER 11. King Beaver preſented ſix hoſtages to remain with Col. Bouquet, and five deputies to treat with Sir William Johnſon, who were approved of. This day he acquainted the chiefs preſent that as he had great reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the conduct of Nettowhatways, the chief of the Turtle tribe who had not appeared, he therefore depoſed him; and that tribe were to chuſe and preſent another for his approbation. This they did a few days afterwards — Smile not, reader, at this tranſaction; for though it may not be attended with ſo many ſplendid and flattering circumſtances to a commander, as the depoſing an Eaſt Indian Nabob or chief; yet to penetrate into the wilderneſſes where thoſe ſtern Weſt Indian Chieftains hold their ſway, and to frown them from their throne, though but compoſed of the unhewn log, will be found to require both reſolution and firmneſs; and their ſubmitting to it clearly ſhews to what degree of humiliation they were reduced.

BUT to proceed. The Shawaneſe ſtill remained to be treated with, and though this nation ſaw themſelves under the neceſſity of yielding to the ſame conditions with the other tribes, yet there had appeared a dilato-

* The Chief of the Turtle tribe, for ſome reaſon, choſe to abſent himſelf.

cineſs and ſullen haughtineſs in all their conduct, which rendered it very ſuſpicious.

The 12th of November was appointed for the conference with them; which was managed on their part by Keiſſinautchtha and Nimwha their chiefs, with the Red Hawke, Laviſſimo, Benſivaſica, Eweecunwee, Keigleighque, and forty warriors; the Caughnawaga, Seneca and Delaware chiefs, with about ſixty warriors, being alſo preſent.

The Red Hawke was their ſpeaker, and as he delivered himſelf with a ſtrange mixture of fierce pride, and humble ſubmiſſion, I ſhall add a paſſage or two from his ſpeech.

"Brother,

"You will liſten to us your younger brothers; and as we diſcover ſome-"thing in your eyes that looks diſſatisfaction with us, we now wipe away "every thing bad between us that you may clearly ſee — You have heard "many bad ſtories of us — We clean your ears that you may hear — We "remove every thing bad from your heart, that it may be like the heart "of your anceſtors, when they thought of nothing but good." [Here he gave a ſtring.]

"Brother; when we ſaw you coming this road, you advanced towards "us with a tomahawk in your hand; but we your younger brothers take it "out of your hands and throw it up to God † to diſpoſe of as he pleaſes; "by which means we hope never to ſee it more. And now, brother, "we beg leave that you who are a warrior, will take hold of this chain "(giving a ſtring) of friendſhip, and receive it from us, who are alſo "warriors, and let us think no more of war, in pity to our old men, wo-"men and children" — Intimating, by this laſt expreſſion, that it was mere compaſſion to them, and not inability to fight, that made their nation deſire peace.

† Their uſual figure for making peace is burying the hatchet; but as ſuch hatchets may be dug up again, perhaps he thought this new expreſſion of "ſending it up to God, or the "Good Spirit," a much ſtronger emblem of the permanency and ſtedfaſtneſs of the peace now to be made.

He then produced a treaty held with the government of Pennſylvania 1701, and three meſſages or letters from that government of different dates; and concluded thus —

" Now, Brother, I beg We who are warriors may forget our diſputes, " and renew the friendſhip which appears by theſe papers to have ſubſiſted " between our fathers." — He promiſed, in behalf of the reſt of their nation, who were gone to a great diſtance to hunt and could not have notice to attend the treaty, that they ſhould certainly come to Fort-Pitt in the ſpring, and bring the remainder of the priſoners with them.

As the ſeaſon was far advanced, and the Colonel could not ſtay long in theſe remote parts, he was obliged to reſt ſatisfied with the priſoners the Shawaneſe had brought; taking hoſtages, and laying them under the ſtrongeſt obligations, for the delivery of the reſt; knowing that no other effectual method could at preſent be purſued.

He expoſtulated with them on account of their paſt conduct, and told them — " that the ſpeech they had delivered would have been agreeable to " him, if their actions had correſponded with their words. You have ſpoken, " ſaid he, much of peace, but have neglected to comply with the only con- " dition, upon which you can obtain it. Keiſſinautchtha, one of your chiefs, " met me a month ago at Tuſcarawas, and accepted the ſame terms of peace " for your nation, that were preſcribed to the Senecas and Delawares; pro- " miſing in ten days from that time to meet me here with all your priſoners— " After waiting for you till now, you are come at laſt, only with a part " of them, and propoſe putting off the delivery of the reſt till the ſpring. " — What right have you to expect different terms from thoſe granted to " the Delawares, &c. who have given me entire ſatisfaction by their ready " ſubmiſſion to every thing required of them? —— But I will cut this " matter ſhort with you; and before I explain myſelf further, I inſiſt on " your immediate anſwer to the following queſtions —

1ſt. " Will you forthwith collect and deliver up all the priſoners yet in " your poſſeſſion, and the French living among you, with all the Negroes " you have taken from us in this or any other war; and that without any " exception or evaſion whatſoever?"

2d. " WILL you deliver ſix hoſtages into my hands as a ſecurity for " your punctual performance of the above article, and that your nations " ſhall commit no farther hoſtilities againſt the perſons or property of his " majeſty's ſubjects ?"

BENEVISSICO replied that " they agreed to give the hoſtages required, " and ſaid that he himſelf would immediately return to their lower towns " and collect all our fleſh and blood that remained among them, and that " we ſhould ſee them at Fort-Pitt † as ſoon as poſſible. — That, as to the " French, they had no power over them. They were ſubjects to the king " of England. We might do with them what we pleaſed ; though he be- " lieved they were all returned before this time to their own country."—

THEY then delivered their hoſtages, and the Colonel told them " that " though he had brought a Tomahawk in his hand, yet as they had now " ſubmitted, he would not let it fall on their heads, but let it drop to the " ground, no more to be ſeen. He exhorted them to exerciſe kindneſs to " the captives, and look upon them now as brothers and no longer pri- " ſoners ; adding, that he intended to ſend ſome of their relations along " with the Indians, to ſee their friends collected and brought to Fort-Pitt. " He promiſed to give them letters to Sir William Johnſon, to facilitate a " final peace, and deſired them to be ſtrong in performing every thing " ſtipulated."

THE Caughnawagas, the Delawares and Senecas, ſeverally addreſſed the Shawaneſe, as grandchildren and nephews, " to perform their promiſes, " and to be ſtrong in doing good, that this peace might be everlaſting."—

AND here I am to enter on a ſcene, reſerved on purpoſe for this place, that the thread of the foregoing narrative might not be interrupted —— a ſcene, which language indeed can but weakly deſcribe ; and to which the Poet or Painter might have repaired to enrich their higheſt colourings of the variety of human paſſions ; the Philoſopher, to find ample ſubject for

† It will appear, by the poſtſcript to this account, that the Shawaneſe have fulfilled this engagement.

his

his moſt ſerious reflections; and the Man to exerciſe all the tender and ſympathetic feelings of the ſoul.

THE ſcene I mean, was the arrival of the priſoners in the camp; where were to be ſeen fathers and mothers recognizing and claſping their once-loſt babes; huſbands hanging round the necks of their newly-recovered wives; ſiſters and brothers unexpectedly meeting together after long ſeparation, ſcarce able to ſpeak the ſame language, or, for ſome time, to be ſure that they were children of the ſame parents! In all theſe interviews, joy and rapture inexpreſſible were ſeen, while feelings of a very different nature were painted in the looks of others;—flying from place to place in eager enquiries after relatives not found! trembling to receive an anſwer to their queſtions! diſtracted with doubts, hopes and fears, on obtaining no account of thoſe they ſought for! or ſtiffened into living monuments of horror and woe, on learning their unhappy fate!

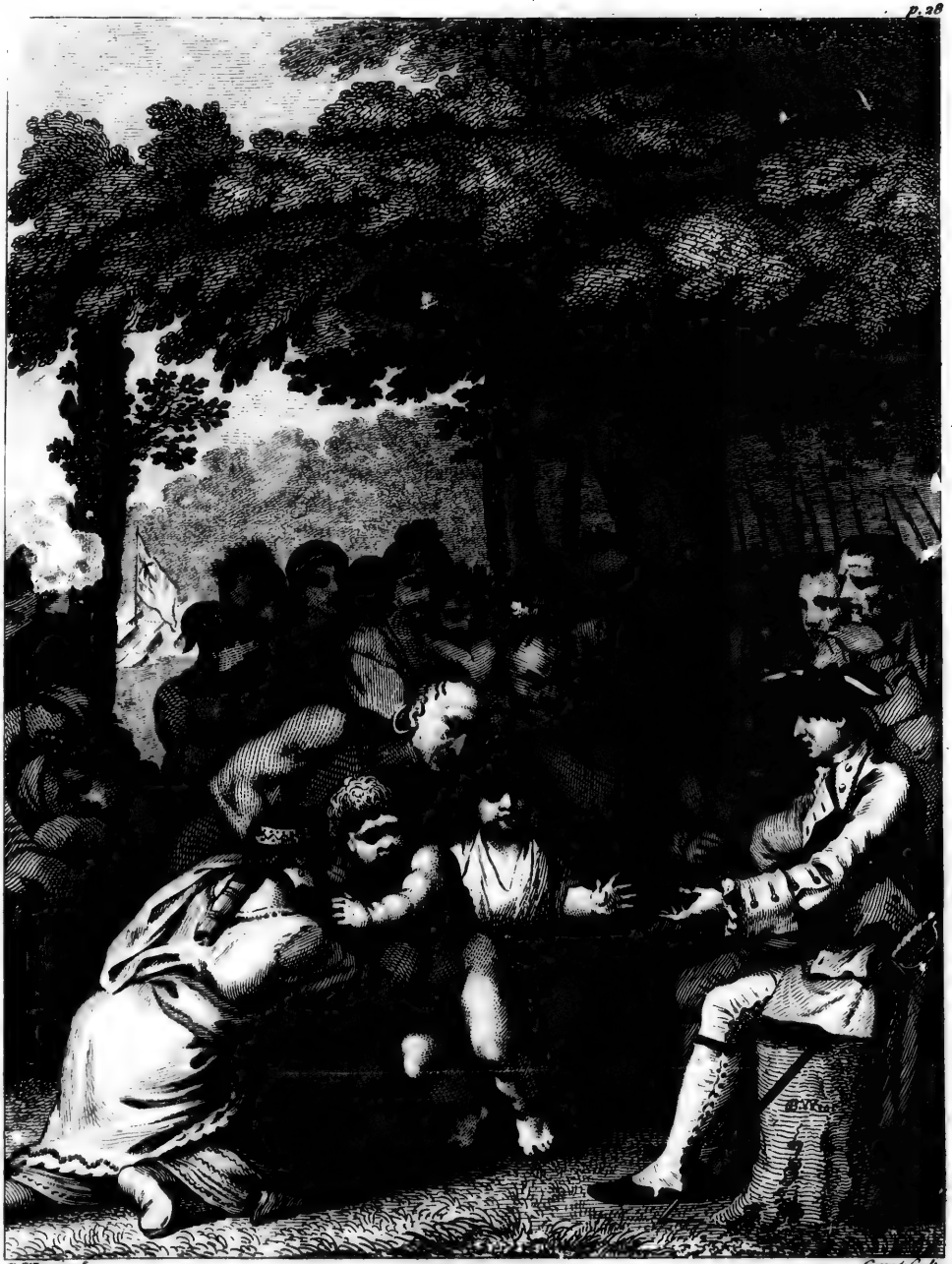
THE Indians too, as if wholly forgetting their uſual ſavageneſs, bore a capital part in heightening this moſt affecting ſcene. They delivered up their beloved captives with the utmoſt reluctance; ſhed torrents of tears over them, recommending them to the care and protection of the commanding officer. Their regard to them continued all the time they remained in camp. They viſited them from day to day; and brought them what corn, ſkins, horſes and other matters, they had beſtowed on them, while in their families; accompanied with other preſents, and all the marks of the moſt ſincere and tender affection. Nay, they did not ſtop here, but, when the army marched, ſome of the Indians ſolicited and obtained leave to accompany their former captives all the way to Fort-Pitt, and employed themſelves in hunting and bringing proviſions for them on the road. A young Mingo carried this ſtill further, and gave an inſtance of love which would make a figure even in romance. A young woman of Virginia was among the captives, to whom he had formed ſo ſtrong an attachment, as to call her his wife. Againſt all remonſtrances of the imminent danger to which he expoſed himſelf by approaching to the frontiers, he perſiſted in following her, at the riſk of being killed by the ſurviving relations of many unfortunate perſons, who had been captivated or ſcalped by thoſe of his nation.

THOSE qualities in ſavages challenge our juſt eſteem. They ſhould make us charitably conſider their barbarities as the effects of wrong education, and falſe notions of bravery and heroiſm; while we ſhould look on their virtues as ſure marks that nature has made them fit ſubjects of cultivation as well as us; and that we are called by our ſuperior advantages to yield them all the helps we can in this way. Cruel and unmerciful as they are, by habit and long example, in war, yet whenever they come to give way to the native dictates of humanity, they exerciſe virtues which Chriſtians need not bluſh to imitate. When they once determine to give life, they give every thing with it, which, in their apprehenſion, belongs to it. From every enquiry that has been made, it appears — that no woman thus ſaved is preſerved from baſe motives, or need fear the violation of her honour. No child is otherwiſe treated by the perſons adopting it than the children of their own body. The perpetual ſlavery of thoſe captivated in war, is a notion which even their barbarity has not yet ſuggeſted to them. Every captive whom their affection, their caprice, or whatever elſe, leads them to ſave, is ſoon incorporated with them, and fares alike with themſelves.

THESE inſtances of Indian tenderneſs and humanity were thought worthy of particular notice. The like inſtances among our own people will not ſeem ſtrange; and therefore I ſhall only mention one, out of a multitude that might be given on this occaſion.

AMONG the captives, a woman was brought into the camp at Muſkingham, with a babe about three months old at her breaſt. One of the Virginia-volunteers ſoon knew her to be his wife, who had been taken by the Indians about ſix months before. She was immediately delivered to her over-joyed huſband. He flew with her to his tent, and cloathed her and his child in proper apparel. But their joy, after the firſt tranſports, was ſoon damped by the reflection that another dear child of about two years old, captivated with the mother, and ſeparated from her, was ſtill miſſing, altho' many children had been brought in.

A FEW days afterwards, a number of other priſoners were brought to the camp, among whom were ſeveral more children. The woman was ſent for, and



B. West inv.t Canot sculp.

The Indians delivering up the English Captives to Colonel Bouquet, near his Camp at the Forks of Muskingum in North America in Nov.r 1764.

and one, ſuppoſed to be hers, was produced to her. At firſt ſight ſhe was uncertain, but viewing the child with great earneſtneſs, ſhe ſoon recollected its features; and was ſo overcome with joy, that literally forgetting her ſucking child ſhe dropt it from her arms, and catching up the new found child in an extaſy, preſſed it to her breaſt, and burſting into tears carried it off, unable to ſpeak for joy. The father ſeizing up the babe ſhe had let fall, followed her in no leſs tranſport and affection.

Among the children who had been carried off young, and had long lived with the Indians, it is not to be expected that any marks of joy would appear on being reſtored to their parents or relatives. Having been accuſtomed to look upon the Indians as the only connexions they had, having been tenderly treated by them, and ſpeaking their language, it is no wonder that they conſidered their new ſtate in the light of a captivity, and parted from the ſavages with tears.

But it muſt not be denied that there were even ſome grown perſons who ſhewed an unwillingneſs to return. The Shawaneſe were obliged to bind ſeveral of their priſoners and force them along to the camp; and ſome women, who had been delivered up, afterwards found means to eſcape and run back to the Indian towns. Some, who could not make their eſcape, clung to their ſavage acquaintance at parting, and continued many days in bitter lamentations, even refuſing ſuſtenance.

For the honour of humanity, we would ſuppoſe thoſe perſons to have been of the loweſt rank, either bred up in ignorance and diſtreſſing penury, or who had lived ſo long with the Indians as to forget all their former connections. For, eaſy and unconſtrained as the ſavage life is, certainly it could never be put in competition with the bleſſings of improved life and the light of religion, by any perſons who have had the happineſs of enjoying, and the capacity of diſcerning, them.

Every thing being now ſettled with the Indians, the army decamped on Sunday 18th November, and marched for Fort-Pitt, where it arrived on the 28th. The regular troops were immediately ſent to garriſon the different poſts

poſts on the communication, and the provincial troops, with the captives, to their ſeveral provinces. Here ended this expedition, in which it is remarkable that, notwithſtanding the many difficulties attending it, the troops were never in want of any neceſſaries; continuing perfectly healthy during the whole campaign; in which no life was loſt, except the man mentioned to have been killed at Muſkingham.

In the beginning of January 1765, Colonel Bouquet arrived at Philadelphia, receiving, wherever he came, every poſſible mark of gratitude and eſteem from the people in general; and particularly from the overjoyed relations of the captives, whom he had ſo happily, and without bloodſhed, reſtored to their country and friends. Nor was the legiſlative part of the provinces leſs ſenſible of his important ſervices. The aſſembly of Pennſylvania, at their firſt ſitting, unanimouſly voted him the following addreſs.

In ASSEMBLY, January 15, 1765, A. M.

To the Honourable HENRY BOUQUET, Eſq; Commander in Chief of His MAJESTY's Forces in the Southern Department of AMERICA,

The Addreſs of the Repreſentatives of the Freemen of the Province of Pennſylvania, in General Aſſembly met.

SIR,

'THE repreſentatives of the freemen of the province of Pennſylvania, in general aſſembly met, being informed that you intend 'ſhortly to embark for England, and moved with a due ſenſe of the im-'portant ſervices you have rendered to his majeſty, his northern colonies 'in general, and to this province in particular, during our late wars with 'the French and barbarous Indians, in the remarkable victory over the ſa-'vage enemy, united to oppoſe you, near Buſhy-Run, in Auguſt 1763, 'when on your march for the relief of Pittſburg, owing, under God, to 'your intrepidity and ſuperior ſkill in command, together with the bravery 'of your officers and little army; as alſo in your late march to the country 'of the ſavage nations, with the troops under your direction; thereby

'ſtriking terror through the numerous Indian tribes around you; laying a 'foundation for a laſting as well as honourable peace with them; and reſ-'cuing, from ſavage captivity, upwards of two hundred of our chriſtian 'brethren, priſoners among them: theſe eminent ſervices, and your con-'ſtant attention to the civil rights of his majeſty's ſubjects in this province, 'demand, Sir, the grateful tribute of thanks from all good men; and 'therefore we, the repreſentatives of the freemen of Pennſylvania, unani-'mouſly for ourſelves, and in behalf of all the people of this province, do 'return you our moſt ſincere and hearty thanks for theſe your great ſervices, 'wiſhing you a ſafe and pleaſant voyage to England, with a kind and gra-'cious reception from his majeſty.

'Signed, by order of the Houſe,

'JOSEPH FOX, SPEAKER.'

The Colonel's Anſwer was as follows, viz.

To the Honourable the REPRESENTATIVES of the FREEMEN of the province of Pennſylvania, in General Aſſembly met.

'GENTLEMEN,

'WITH a heart impreſſed with the moſt lively ſenſe of gratitude, I 'return you my humble and ſincere thanks, for the honour you 'have done me in your polite addreſs of the 15th of January, tranſmitted 'me to New-York by your ſpeaker.

'NEXT to the approbation of His Sacred Majeſty, and my ſuperiour 'officers, nothing could afford me higher pleaſure than your favourable 'opinion of my conduct, in the diſcharge of thoſe military commands with 'which I have been intruſted.

'GRATITUDE as well as juſtice demand of me to acknowlege, that the 'aids granted by the legiſlature of this province, and the conſtant aſſiſt-'ance and ſupport afforded me by the honourable the Governor and Com-'miſſioners in the late expedition, have enabled me to recover ſo many of 'his Majeſty's ſubjects from a cruel captivity, and be the happy inſtrument 'of reſtoring them to freedom and liberty: To you therefore, gentlemen, 'is the greater ſhare of that merit due, which you are generouſly pleaſed on 'this occaſion to impute to my ſervices.

'YOUR

'YOUR kind teſtimony of my conſtant attention to the civil rights of his 'majeſty's ſubjects in this Province, does me ſingular honour, and calls for 'the return of my warmeſt acknowledgments.

'PERMIT me to take this public opportunity of doing juſtice to the of-'ficers of the regular and provincial troops, and the volunteers, who have 'ſerved with me, by declaring that, under Divine Providence, the repeated 'ſucceſſes of his Majeſty's arms againſt a ſavage enemy, are principally to be 'aſcribed to their courage and reſolution, and to their perſeverance under 'the ſevereſt hardſhips and fatigue.

'I SINCERELY wiſh proſperity and happineſs to the province, and have 'the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect, Gentlemen,

'Your moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,

'HENRY BOUQUET.'

February 4, 1765.

SOON afterwards the Colonel received a very polite and affectionate letter from Governor Fauquier, dated 25th of December, incloſing reſolves of the honourable members of his Majeſty's Council, and of the houſe of Burgeſſes, for the colony and dominion of Virginia.

THOSE reſpectable bodies unanimouſly returned their thanks to him for the activity, ſpirit and zeal, with which he had reduced the Indians to terms of peace, and compelled thoſe ſavages to deliver up ſo many of his Majeſty's ſubjects whom they had in captivity. They further requeſted the Governor to recommend him to his Majeſty's miniſters, as an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, in this and every former ſervice in which he has been engaged.

THE Colonel, in his anſwer, acknowledged the ready aſſiſtance and countenance which he had always received from the Governor and colony of Virginia in carrying on the King's ſervice; and mentioned his particular obligations to Col. LEWIS, for his zeal and good conduct during the campaign.

THE

THE honours thus beſtowed on him, his own modeſty made him deſirous of transferring to the officers and army under his command; and indeed the mutual confidence and harmony ſubſiſting between him and them, highly redound to the reputation of both. He has taken every occaſion of doing juſtice to the particular merit of Colonel REID who was ſecond in command; and alſo to all the officers who ſerved in the expedition, regulars as well as provincials †.

THE reader will obſerve that the public bodies who preſented theſe addreſſes to the Colonel, not only wiſhed to expreſs their own gratitude, but likewiſe to be inſtrumental in recommending him to the advancement his ſervices merited. And ſurely it is a happy circumſtance to obtain promotion, not only unenvied, but even with the general approbation and good wiſhes of the public. It ought, however, to be mentioned, that on the firſt account his Majeſty received of this expedition, and long before thoſe teſtimonies could reach England, he was graciouſly pleaſed of his own royal goodneſs and as a reward of the Colonel's merit, to promote him to the rank of BRIGADIER GENERAL, and to the command of the ſouthern diſtrict of America. And as he is rendered as dear, by his private virtues, to thoſe who have the honour of his more intimate acquaintance, as he is by his military ſervices to the public, it is hoped he may long continue among us; where his experienced abilities will enable him, and his love of the Engliſh conſtitution entitle him, to fill any future truſt to which his Majeſty may be pleaſed to call him. ——

POSTSCRIPT.

IT was mentioned in the 25th page of this account, that the Shawaneſe brought only a part of their priſoners with them to Col. Bouquet at Muſkingham, in November laſt; and that, as the ſeaſon was far advanced, he was obliged to reſt ſatisfied with taking hoſtages for the delivery of the remainder at Fort-Pitt, in the enſuing ſpring.

† The Pennſylvania troops were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Francis, and Lieutenant Colonel Clayton.

THE eſcape of thoſe hoſtages ſoon afterwards, as well as the former equivocal conduct of their nation, had given reaſon to doubt the ſincerity of their intentions with reſpect to the performance of their promiſes. But we have the ſatisfaction to find that they punctually have fulfilled them. Ten of their chiefs, and about fifty of their warriors, attended with many of their women and children, met GEORGE CROGHAN, Eſq; deputy agent to Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON, at Fort-Pitt, the 9th of laſt May; together with a large body of Delawares, Senecas, Sanduſky and Munſy Indians; where they delivered the remainder of their priſoners, brightened the chain of friendſhip, and gave every aſſurance of their firm intentions to preſerve the peace inviolable for ever.

THERE is ſomething remarkable in the appellation they gave to the Engliſh on this occaſion; calling them Fathers inſtead of Brethren.

LAWAUGHQUA, the Shawaneſe ſpeaker, delivered himſelf in the following terms. ——

" FATHERS, for ſo we will call you henceforward; liſten to what we " are going to ſay to you.

" IT gave us great pleaſure yeſterday to be called the children of the " great King of England; and convinces us your intentions towards us " are upright, as we know a Father will be tender of his children, and " they are more ready to obey him than a Brother. Therefore we hope " our Father will now take better care of his children, than has heretofore " been done. ——

" YOU put us in mind of our promiſe to Col. Bouquet; which was to " bring your fleſh and blood to be delivered at this place. FATHER, you " have not ſpoke in vain — you ſee we have brought them with us, — ex- " cept a few that were out with our hunting parties, which will be " brought here as ſoon as they return.

" THEY have been all united to us by adoption; and altho' we now de- " liver them up to you, we will always look upon them as our relations, " whenever the Great Spirit is pleaſed that we may viſit them.

" FATHER,

" FATHER, We have taken as much care of them, as if they were our " own fleſh and blood. They are now become unacquainted with your " cuſtoms and manners; and therefore, we requeſt you will uſe them ten- " derly and kindly, which will induce them to live contentedly with you.

" HERE is a belt with the figure of our Father the King of Great- " Britain at one end, and the Chief of our nation at the other. It repre- " ſents them holding the chain of friendſhip; and we hope neither ſide " will ſlip their hands from it, ſo long as the Sun and Moon give light."

THE reader will further remember that one of the engagements which the different Indian Tribes entered into with Colonel Bouquet, was to ſend deputies to conclude a peace with Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON. This has alſo been punctually fulfilled; and we are aſſured that Sir WILLIAM " has fi- " niſhed his congreſs greatly to his ſatisfaction, and even beyond his ex- " pectations." Thus every good conſequence has enſued from this important expedition, which our fondeſt wiſhes could have induced us to expect from the known valour and ſpirit of the able commander who had the conduct of it; and we now have the pleaſure once more to behold the temple of JANUS ſhut, in this weſtern world!

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

WAR WITH THE SAVAGES OF NORTH-AMERICA.

THE long continued ravages of the Indians on the frontiers of the Britiſh colonies in America, and the fatal overthrows which they have ſometimes given our beſt diſciplined troops, eſpecially in the beginning of the late war, have rendered them an object of our conſideration, even in their military capacity. And as but few officers, who may be employed againſt them, can have opportunities to obſerve the true cauſes of their advantages over European troops in the woods, it is with the utmoſt pleaſure that I now proceed to lay before the public the following valuable papers, which I mentioned † to have been communicated to me by an officer of great abilities and long experience, in our wars with the Indians.

As ſcarce any thing has yet been publiſhed on a ſubject now become of the higheſt importance § to our colonies, theſe papers will undoubtedly be an acceptable preſent to the reader, and the remarks contained in them may be more and more improved by the future care and attention of able men, till perhaps a compleat ſyſtem is at length formed for the conduct of this particular ſpecies of war.

† See the introduction.

§ It will appear by the account of Indian tribes and towns annexed to theſe papers, that the enemies we have to deal with are neither contemptible in numbers or ſtrength.

SECTION

SECTION I.

OF THE TEMPER AND GENIUS OF THE INDIANS.

THE love of liberty is innate in the ſavage; and ſeems the ruling paſſion of the ſtate of nature. His deſires and wants, being few, are eaſily gratified, and leave him much time to ſpare, which he would ſpend in idleneſs, if hunger did not force him to hunt. That exerciſe makes him ſtrong, active and bold, raiſes his courage, and fits him for war, in which he uſes the ſame ſtratagems and cruelty as againſt the wild beaſts; making no ſcruple to employ treachery and perfidy to vanquiſh his enemy.

JEALOUS of his independency and of his property, he will not ſuffer the leaſt encroachment on either; and upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion, fired with reſentment, he becomes an implacable enemy, and flies to arms to vindicate his right, or revenge an injury.

THE advantages of theſe ſavages over civilized nations are both natural and acquired. They are tall and well limbed, remarkable for their activity, and have a piercing eye and quick ear, which are of great ſervice to them in the woods.

LIKE beaſts of prey, they are patient, deceitful, and rendered by habit almoſt inſenſible to the common feelings of humanity. Their barbarous cuſtom of ſcalping their enemies, in the heat of action; the exquiſite torments often inflicted by them on thoſe reſerved for a more deliberate fate; their general ferocity of manners, and the ſucceſſes wherewith they have often been fluſhed, have conſpired to render their name terrible, and ſome times to ſtrike a pannic even into our braveſt and beſt diſciplined troops.

THEIR acquired advantages are, that they have been inured to bear the extremes of heat and cold; and from their infancy, in winter and ſummer, to plunge themſelves in cold ſtreams, and to go almoſt naked, expoſed to the ſcorching ſun or nipping froſts, till they arrive to the ſtate of manhood. Some of them deſtroy the ſenſation of the ſkin by ſcratching it with the ſhort and

ſharp teeth of ſome animal, diſpoſed in the form of a curry-comb, which makes them regardleſs of briars and thorns in running thro' thickets. Rivers are no obſtacles to them in their wild excurſions. They either ſwim over, or croſs them on rafts or canoes, of an eaſy and ready conſtruction.

In their expeditions they live chiefly by hunting, or on wild fruits and roots, with which the woods ſupply them almoſt every where.

They can bear hunger and thirſt for ſeveral days, without ſlackening, on that account, their perſeverance in any propoſed enterprize.

By conſtant practice in hunting, they learn to ſhoot with great ſkill, either with bows, or fire-arms; and to ſteal unperceived upon their prey, purſuing the tracts of men and beaſts, which would be imperceptible to an European. They can run for a whole day without halting, when flying from an enemy, or when ſent on any meſſage. They ſteer, as if by inſtinct, thro' trackleſs woods, and with aſtoniſhing patience can lie whole days motionleſs in ambuſh to ſurpriſe an enemy, eſteeming no labour or perſeverance too painful to obtain their ends.

They beſmear their bodies with bear's greaſe, which defends them againſt rains and damps, as well as againſt the ſtings of Muſkitoes and Gnats. It likewiſe ſupples their limbs, and makes them as ſlippery as the antient gladiators, who could not be held faſt when ſeized in fight.

Plain food, conſtant exerciſe, and living in the open air, preſerve them healthy and vigorous.

They are powerfully excited to war by the cuſtom eſtabliſhed among them, of paying diſtinguiſhed honours to warriors.

They fight only when they think to have the advantage, but cannot be forced to it, being ſure by their ſpeed to elude the moſt eager purſuit.

THEIR dreſs conſiſts of the ſkins of ſome wild beaſt, or a blanket, a ſhirt either of linen, or of dreſſed ſkins, a breech clout, leggins, reaching half way up the thigh, and faſtened to a belt, with mokawſons on their feet. They uſe no ligatures that might obſtruct the circulation of their blood, or agility of their limbs. They ſhave their head, reſerving only a ſmall tuft of hair on the top; and ſlit the outer part of the ears, to which, by weights, they give a circular form, extending it down to their ſhoulders.

THEY adorn themſelves with ear and noſe rings, bracelets of ſilver and wampum, and paint their faces with various colours. When they prepare for an engagement they paint themſelves black, and fight naked.

THEIR arms are a fuſil, or rifle, a powder horn, a ſhot pouch, a tomahawk, and a ſcalping knife hanging to their neck.

WHEN they are in want of fire-arms, they ſupply them by a bow, a ſpear, or a death hammer, which is a ſhort club made of hard wood.

THEIR uſual utenſils are a kettle, a ſpoon, a looking glaſs, an awl, a ſteel to ſtrike fire, ſome paint, a pipe and tobacco-pouch. For want of tobacco, they ſmoke ſome particular leaves, or the bark of a willow; which is almoſt their continual occupation.

THUS lightly equipped do the ſavages lie in wait to attack, at ſome difficult paſs, the European ſoldier, heavily accoutred, harraſſed by a tedious march, and encumbered with an unwieldy convoy.

EXPERIENCE has convinced us that it is not our intereſt to be at war with them; but if, after having tried all means to avoid it, they force us to it, (which in all probability will often happen) we ſhould endeavour to fight them upon more equal terms, and regulate our manœuvres upon thoſe of the enemy we are to engage, and the nature of the country we are to act in.

It does not appear from our accounts of Indian wars, that the ſavages were as brave formerly as we have found them of late; which muſt be imputed to their unexpected ſucceſſes againſt our troops on ſome occaſions, particularly in 1755; and from the little reſiſtance they have ſince met with from defenceleſs inhabitants.

It is certain that even at this day, they ſeldom expoſe their perſons to danger, and depend entirely upon their dexterity in concealing themſelves during an engagement, never appearing openly, unleſs they have ſtruck their enemies with terror, and have thereby rendered them incapable of defence. —— From whence it may be inferred that, if they were beat two or three times, they would loſe that confidence inſpired by ſucceſs, and be leſs inclined to engage in wars which might end fatally for them. But this cannot reaſonably be expected, till we have troops trained to fight them in their own way, with the additional advantage of European courage and diſcipline.

Any deviation from our eſtabliſhed military ſyſtem would be needleſs, if valour, zeal, order and good conduct, were ſufficient to ſubdue this light-footed enemy. Theſe qualities are conſpicuous in our troops; but they are too heavy, and indeed too valuable, to be employed alone in a deſtructive ſervice for which they were never intended. They require the aſſiſtance of lighter corps, whoſe dreſs, arms and exerciſes, ſhould be adapted to this new kind of war.

This opinion is ſupported by the example of many warlike nations, of which I beg leave to mention the following.

The learned Jeſuit † who has obliged the world with a treatiſe on the military affairs of the ancient Romans, tells us, from Salluſt §, that this

† Vid. Joannis Antonii Valtrini Libr. de re milit. Vet. Rom.

§ Neque enim Romanis ſuperbia unquam obſtitit, quo minus aliena inſtituta, ſi modo proba fuiſſent, imitarentur; et quod ubique apud ſocios vel hoſtes ideneum viſum eſſet, cum ſtudio domi exſequerentur. — Aliaque ab aliis accepta, ipſi longe facere meliora quæ quidem digna ſtatuiſſent.

wiſe nation, our maſters in the art of war, were never hindered even by the pride of empire, from imitating any foreign maxim or inſtitution, provided it was good; and that they carefully adopted into their own practice whatever they found uſeful in that of their allies or enemies; ſo that by receiving ſome things from one, and ſome from another, they greatly improved a ſyſtem even originally excellent.

THE defeat of Antony and Craſſus by the Parthians, of Curio by the Numidians, and many other inſtances, convinced the Romans that their legions, who had conquered ſo many nations, were not fit to engage light-troops, which, harraſſing them continually, evaded all their endeavours to bring them to a cloſe engagement; and it is probable that if Julius Cæſar had not been aſſaſſinated, when he was preparing to march againſt the ſame Parthians, to wipe off the reproach of the former defeats, he would have added to his legions a greater number of light troops, formed upon the principles and method of that nation, and have left us uſeful leſſons for the conduct of a war againſt our ſavages.

THAT he did not think the attack of irregular troops contemptible, appears clearly in ſeveral parts of his commentaries, and particularly in the African war. The various embarraſſments he met with from the enemy he had then to deal with, neceſſarily call to our mind many ſimilar circumſtances in the courſe of our wars with the Indians; and the pains he took to inſtruct his ſoldiers to ſtand and repel the ſkirmiſhes of the nimble Africans, may furniſh inſtruction to us in our military operations againſt the ſavage Americans.

WE are told that while Cæſar was on his march "to Scipio's* quarters, "the enemy's horſe and light-armed infantry, riſing all at once from an ambuſcade,

* Labienus, Afraniuſque cum omni equitatu, levique armatura, ex inſidiis adorti agmini Cæſaris extremo ſe offerunt, atque ex collibus primis exſiſtunt. --- Primo impetu legionum equitatus, levis armatura hoſtium nullo negotio loco pulſa et dejecta eſt de colle. Quum jam Cæſar exiſtimaſſet hoſtes pulſos deterritoſque finem laceſſendi facturos, et iter cœptum pergere cœpiſſet; iterum celeriter ex proximis collibus erumpunt; atque in Cæſaris legionarios impetum faciunt Numidæ, leviſque armaturæ, mirabili velocitate præditi; qui inter equites pugnabant, et una pariterque cum equitibus accurrere et refugere conſueverant. Hoc ſæpius facerent, &c. --- Cæſaris autem

" ambuſcade, appeared upon the hills, and attacked his rear. His legions " forming themſelves, ſoon beat the enemy from the higher ground. And " now thinking all ſafe, he begins to purſue his march. But immediately " the enemy break forth from the neighbouring hills; and the Numidians, " with their light-armed foot, who are wonderfully nimble, always mixing " and keeping equal pace with the cavalry in charging or retiring, fall " afreſh on the Roman foot. Thus they frequently renewed the charge, " and ſtill retired when he endeavoured to bring them to cloſe engagement. " If but two or three of his veterans faced about and caſt their piles with " vigour, two thouſand of the enemy would fly, then returning rally " again, making it their buſineſs to harraſs his march, and to preſs upon " his rear, following at ſome diſtance and throwing their darts at the " legions.

" CÆSAR, having ſo ſubtil an enemy to deal with, inſtructed his ſoldiers, " not like a general who had been victorious in the moſt arduous exploits, " but as a fencing-maſter† would inſtruct his ſcholars; teaching them with " what pace to retreat from the enemy, and how to return to the charge; " how far to advance, and how far to retire; and likewiſe in what place and " manner to caſt their piles. For their light-armed infantry gave him the " greateſt uneaſineſs, deterring his troopers from meeting them, by killing " their horſes with their javelins, and wearying his legions by their ſwiftneſs. " For whenever his heavy-armed foot faced about, and endeavoured to re- " turn their charge, they quickly avoided the danger by flight."

BUT without going back to the ancients, we have ſeen this maxim adopted

autem non amplius tres, aut quatuor milites veterani, ſi ſe convertiſſent, ei pila viribus contorta in Numidas infeſtos conjeciſſent, amplius duorum millium numero ad unum terga vertebant; ac rurſus ad aciem paſſim, converſis equis, ſe colligebant, atque in ſpatio conſequebantur, et jacula in Legionarios conjiciebant.

CÆSAR contra ejuſmodi hoſtium genera copias ſuas, non ut imperator exercitum veteranum, victoremque maximis rebus geſtis, ſed ut laniſta tirones gladiatores condocefacere: quo pede ſeſe reciperent ab hoſte, &c. --- Mirifice enim hoſtium levis armatura anxium exercitum ejus atque ſollicitum habebat: quia et equites deterrebat prœlium inire, propter equorum interritum; quod eos jaculis interficiebat; et legionarium militem defatigabat, propter velocitatem. Gravis enim armatura miles ſimul atque ab his inſectatus conſtiterat, in eoſque impetum fecerat, illi veloci curſu facile periculum vitabant.

† Laniſta, in Latin, is an inſtructor of gladiators, which in Engliſh can only be tranſlated a 'Fencing-maſter.'

in our days. Marſhal de Saxe finding the French army harraſſed by the Huſſars and other Auſtrian light troops, formed alſo ſeveral corps of them of different kinds; and the king of Pruſſia in his firſt war introduced them into his army, and has augmented and employed them ever ſince with ſucceſs. We have ourſelves made uſe of them in the two laſt wars in Europe: But the light troops wanted in America muſt be trained upon different principles. The enemies we have to deal with, are infinitely more active and dangerous than the Huſſars and Pandours; or even the Africans above-mentioned. For the American ſavages, after their rapid incurſions, retreat to their towns, at a great diſtance from our ſettlements, through thickety woods almoſt impenetrable to our heavy and unwieldy corps, compoſed of ſoldiers loaded with cloaths, baggage and proviſions, who, when fatigued by a long march, muſt be a very unequal match to engage the nimble ſavage in woods, which are his native element.

Another unavoidable incumbrance, in our expeditions, ariſes from the proviſions and baggage of the army, for which a road muſt be opened, and bridges thrown over rivers and ſwamps. This creates great labour, retards and weakens the line of march, and keeps the troops tied to a convoy which they cannot loſe ſight of, without expoſing it to become a prey to a vigilant enemy, continually hovering about to ſeize every advantage.

An European, to be a proper judge of this kind of war, muſt have lived ſome time in the vaſt foreſts of America; otherwiſe he will hardly be able to conceive a continuity of woods without end. In ſpite of his endeavours, his imagination will betray him into an expectation of open and clear grounds, and he will be apt to calculate his manœuvres accordingly, too much upon the principles of war in Europe.

Let us ſuppoſe a perſon, who is entirely unacquainted with the nature of this ſervice, to be put at the head of an expedition in America. We will further ſuppoſe that he has made the diſpoſitions uſual in Europe for a march, or to receive an enemy; and that he is then attacked by the ſavages. He cannot diſcover them, tho' from every tree, log or buſh, he receives an inceſſant fire, and obſerves that few of their ſhot are loſt. He will not heſi-

tate

tate to charge thoſe inviſible enemies, but he will charge in vain. For they are as cautious to avoid a cloſe engagement, as indefatigable in harraſſing his troops; and notwithſtanding all his endeavours, he will ſtill find himſelf ſurrounded by a circle of fire, which, like an artificial horizon, follows him every where.

UNABLE to rid himſelf of an enemy who never ſtands his attacks, and flies when preſſed, only to return upon him again with equal agility and vigour; he will ſee the courage of his heavy troops droop, and their ſtrength at laſt fail them by repeated and ineffectual efforts.

HE muſt therefore think of a retreat, unleſs he can force his way thro' the enemy. But how is this to be effected? his baggage and proviſions are unloaded and ſcattered, part of his horſes and drivers killed, others diſperſed by fear, and his wounded to be carried by ſoldiers already fainting under the fatigue of a long action. The enemy, encouraged by his diſtreſs, will not fail to encreaſe the diſorder, by preſſing upon him on every ſide, with redoubled fury and ſavage howlings.

HE will probably form a circle or a ſquare, to keep off ſo daring an enemy, ready at the leaſt opening to fall upon him with the deſtructive tomahawk: but theſe diſpoſitions, tho' a tolerable ſhift for defence, are neither proper for an attack, nor a march thro' the woods. ——

THIS is not an imaginary ſuppoſition, but the true ſtate of an engagement with the Indians, experienced by the troops who have fought againſt them. Neither is there any thing new or extraordinary in this way of fighting, which ſeems to have been common to moſt Barbarians †.

WHAT is then to be done to extricate our little army from impending deſtruction?

THIS is a problem which I do not pretend to reſolve. But as every man would, in ſimilar circumſtances, determine himſelf ſome way or other, I

† Vid. Cæſ. Comm. lib. V. de bello Gallico, et lib. II de bello civili.

will propoſe my own ſentiments, founded upon ſome obſervations which I believe invariable in all engagements with ſavages.

THE firſt, that their general maxim is to ſurround their enemy.

THE ſecond, that they fight ſcattered, and never in a compact body.

THE third, that they never ſtand their ground when attacked, but immediately give way, to return to the charge.

THESE principles being admitted, it follows ——

1ſt. THAT the troops deſtined to engage Indians, muſt be lightly cloathed, armed, and accoutred.

2d. THAT having no reſiſtance to encounter in the attack or defence, they are not to be drawn up in cloſe order, which would only expoſe them without neceſſity to a greater loſs.

AND, laſtly, that all their evolutions muſt be performed with great rapidity; and the men enabled by exerciſe to purſue the enemy cloſely, when put to flight, and not give them time to rally.

THESE remarks will explain the reaſons of the alterations propoſed in the formation of a corps of troops, for the ſervice of the woods. It is not, however, to be expected that this method will remove all obſtacles, or that thoſe light troops can equal the ſavages in patience, and activity; but, with diſcipline and practice, they may in a great meaſure ſupply the want of theſe advantages, and by keeping the enemy at a diſtance afford great relief and ſecurity to the main body.

SECTION II.

GENERAL IDEA OF AN ESTABLISHMENT OF LIGHT TROOPS, FOR THE SERVICE OF THE WOODS.

I SHALL only venture a few notions ſuggeſted by experience upon this ſubject, chiefly with a view to recommend it to the conſideration of perſons

capable of propoſing a proper method of forming ſuch an eſtabliſhment: and, in order to be better underſtood, I will ſuppoſe a corps of 500 men to be raiſed and diſciplined for the woods, beſides two troops of light horſe, to which a company of artificers might be added. The fitteſt men for that ſervice would be the natives of America bred upon the frontiers, and inliſted between the age of 15 and 20 years, to be diſcharged between 30 and 35.

CLOATHING.

THE cloathing of a ſoldier for the campaign might conſiſt of a ſhort coat of brown cloth, lappelled, and without plaits; a ſtrong tanned ſhirt, ſhort trowſers, leggins, mokawſons or ſhoe packs, a ſailor's hat, a blanket, a knapſack for proviſions, and an oiled ſurtout † againſt the rain. To this might

† The following Watch-coat was contrived by an officer, whoſe name I do not remember, But inſtead of the oiled linen to be put under the hat, a cap might perhaps anſwer better. He writes as follows, viz.

" As the Indian war will require frequent incurſions into a wild country, where a man ſick " or wounded, is in ſeveral reſpects more detrimental to the ſervice than a man killed, every " thing that may contribute to the health of the men is of moment.

" In this view, I propoſe a ſort of ſurtout, to preſerve men, in a great meaſure, both from " wet and cold.

" Take a large checked ſhirt, of about half a crown ſterling per yard, for it ſhould be pretty " fine; cut off the wriſt-bands, and continue the opening of the breaſt down to the bottom; ſew " up the ſides from the guſſets downwards; rip out the gathers in the fore parts of the collar as " far as the ſhoulder ſtraps, and reſew it plain to the collar.

" The ſhirt will then become a ſort of watch-coat like a bed-gown, with very wide ſleeves.

" Take a quantity of linſeed oil, and boil it gently till one half is diminiſhed, to which put " a ſmall quantity of litharge of gold, and when it is well incorporated with the oil, lay it on " with a bruſh upon the watch coat, ſo that it ſhall be every where equally wet.

" I ſuppoſe the watch coat, hung in a garret, or other covered place, and ſo ſuſpended by " crooked pins and packthreads in the extremities of the ſleeves and edges of the collar, that " one part ſhall not touch another. In a ſhort time, if the weather is good, it will be dry; " when a ſecond mixture of the ſame kind ſhould be laid on with a bruſh as before. When the " ſecond coat of painting is dry, the greaſe will not come off, and the ſurtout is an effectual pre- " ſervative from rain; it is very light to carry, and being pretty full on the back, will not only " keep the man dry, but alſo his pack and ammunition.

" The ſleeves are left long and wide, to receive the butt end of a firelock (ſecured) and to " cover it below the lock. The coat is double breaſted to be lapped over, according to which " ſide the rain drives. A man will be kept dry by one of theſe ſurtouts as far as the knees. If, " from the vicinity of the enemy, it is improper to make fires at night, he may place his pack " on a ſtone, and, ſitting upon it, change his ſhoes and leggins, and, if he pleaſes, wrap his " blanket

might be added, in winter quarters or time of peace, three white ſhirts and ſtocks, with a flannel waiſtcoat.

ARMS.

Their arms, the beſt that could be made, ſhould be ſhort fuſils and ſome rifles, with bayonets in the form of a dirk, to ſerve for a knife; with powder horns and ſhot pouches, ſmall hatchets and leathern bottles for water.

EXERCISES.

The ſoldiers being raiſed, cloathed, and formed into companies under proper officers, muſt, before they are armed, be taught to keep themſelves clean, and to dreſs in a ſoldier-like manner. This will raiſe in them a becoming ſpirit, give them a favourable opinion of their profeſſion, and preſerve their health. The firſt thing they are to learn is to Walk well, afterwards to Run; and, in order to excite emulation, ſmall premiums might from time to time be given to thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves. They muſt then run in ranks, with open files, and wheel in that order, at firſt ſlowly, and by degrees increaſe their ſpeed: this evolution is difficult, but of the utmoſt conſequence to fall unexpectedly upon the flank of the enemy. They are to diſperſe and rally at given ſignals; and particular colours ſhould be given to each company, for them to rally by; the men muſt be uſed to leap † over logs and ditches, and to carry burthens proportioned to their ſtrength.

" blanket round his legs and feet, then drawing the watch-coat cloſe to his body, it will keep " him warm, as no air can paſs through it, and, leaning againſt the trunk of a tree, he may paſs " a tolerable night, both warm and dry.

" It would be of ſervice to have a ſmall piece of the ſame oiled linen to put under the hat " or cap to carry the rain down to the watchcoat or ſurtout, otherwiſe whatever wet ſoaks " through the hat or cap, will run down the neck, and thereby, in ſome meaſure, defeat the " deſign of the watch-coat.

" Perhaps it might be uſeful to mix ſome dark or greeniſh colour with the oil of the ſecond " coating, to make the watch coat leſs remarkable in the woods."

† Vegetius gives an account of many ſimilar exerciſes, which the Romans found neceſſary to eſtabliſh among their military. Miles ſylvam cædebat, æſtivis temporibus natabat, ad palum dimicabat, ſaltabat, currebat. Exempla hujus exercitationis crebra ſunt apud Livium. Sic ille de Scipione Africano, 3 decad. lib. VI. " Primo die legiones in armis IV. millium ſpatio de- " currerunt. Secundo die arma curare et tergere ante tentoria juſſit. Tertio die ſudibus inter " ſe in modum juſtæ pugnæ concurrerent, præpilatisque miſſilibus jaculati ſunt. Quarto die " quies data. Quinto iterum in armis decurſum eſt." — Quibus porro modis obviam eatur elephantis. Veget. lib. III. cap. 24.

When

When the young ſoldiers are perfect in theſe exerciſes, they may receive their arms, with which they are to perform the former evolutions in all ſorts of grounds. They will next be taught to handle their arms with dexterity; and, without loſing time upon trifles, to load and fire very quick, ſtanding, kneeling, or lying on the ground. They are to fire at a mark without a reſt, and not ſuffered to be too long in taking aim. Hunting and ſmall premiums will ſoon make them expert markſmen.

They ought to learn to ſwim, puſhing at the ſame time their cloaths, arms, and ammunition before them, on a ſmall raft; and to make uſe of ſnow ſhoes. They muſt then be ſet to work, and be taught to throw up an intrenchment, open a trench, make faſcines, clays and gabions; likewiſe to fall trees, ſquare logs, ſaw planks, make canoes, carts, ploughs, hand and wheel barrows, ſhingles and clap-boards, caſks, batteaus and bridges, and to build log houſes, ovens, &c.

By example and practice, the moſt ingenious among them will ſoon become tolerable good carpenters, joyners, wheelwrights, coopers, armourers, ſmiths, maſons, brickmakers, ſaddlers, taylors, butchers, bakers, ſhoemakers, curriers, &c.

LIGHT HORSE and DOGS.

I said that, to compleat this eſtabliſhment, they ſhould have two troops of light horſe, ſuppoſed of 50 men each, officers included. The men are to perform the ſame exerciſes as the foot, and afterwards be taught to ride, and particularly to be very alert at mounting and diſmounting with their arms in their hands, to gallop through the woods up and down hills, and leap over logs and ditches.

The horſes ought to be bought up on the frontiers, where they are bred and uſed to feed in the woods, and are ſtrong and hardy. They are to be thoroughly broke, made to ſtand fire, to ſwim over rivers, &c. their ſaddles and accoutrements very ſimple, ſtrong and light. The number of horſes might be reduced to one half, in time of peace, tho' they would be of little expence, as they might be bred and maintained without charge in the military ſettlement. This corps ſhould be equipped as the foot, having only a ſhort rifle in lieu of a fuſil, and a battle ax with a long handle, the only ſort of arms they ſhould make uſe of in the charge.

Every light horſe man ought to be provided with a Blood-hound, which would be uſeful to find out the enemies ambuſhes, and to follow their tracts; they would ſeize the naked ſavages, or at leaſt give time to the horſe men to come up with them; they would add to the ſafety of the camp at night by diſcovering any attempt to ſurprize it.

ARTIFICERS.

The company of artificers ſhould be compoſed of the moſt uſeful tradeſmen, and ought to be maintained at all times for the inſtruction of the ſoldiers, the uſe of the ſettlement, or the ſervice of the army, during the campaign. It will now be time to draw forth this military colony and remove them to the ground laid out for that uſe in the woods, and at a good diſtance from the inhabitants. The nature of this ſettlement will hereafter be more particularly deſcribed.

Necessity creating induſtry, our young ſoldiers will ſoon provide themſelves with the moſt uſeful articles, and in a couple of years be able to raiſe proviſions for themſelves.

While the greateſt part would be employed in clearing the ground, fencing, ploughing, ſowing, planting, building and making utenſils and houſhold furniture, others might hunt with their officers, and remain a fortnight or a month out of the camp, without other proviſions than a little flour, and what they could procure by hunting and fiſhing: then to be relieved, and the whole trained up in that way.

The military exerciſes muſt ſtill be kept up and practiſed, and great care taken to inculcate and preſerve purity of manners, obedience, order and decency among the men, which will be found much eaſier in the woods than in the neighbourhood of towns.

In order to make this military eſtabliſhment more generally uſeful; I would propoſe that the ſoldiers ſhould only receive a very ſmall part of their pay; leaving the remainder in the military cheſt.

Their accounts ſhould be ſettled every year, and when their ſervices ſhould intitle them to their diſcharge, I could wiſh that each of them had 200 acres of land given him, in a diſtrict appropriated for that purpoſe; and

receiving then the whole ballance of pay due to them, they would be enabled to compleat their ſettlement. This inſtitution appears not only practicable, but eaſy, if attended to with patience, aſſiduity and firmneſs. The plan I would propoſe is as follows.

Method of forming ſuch SETTLEMENTS upon the Frontiers, as might ſupport themſelves during an INDIAN WAR.

LET us ſuppoſe a ſettlement to be formed for one hundred families, compoſed of five perſons each, upon an average.

LAY out upon a river, or creek, if it can be found conveniently, a SQUARE of one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty yards, or a mile for each ſide.

THAT Square will contain - - - - - - - - - - - -		640 acres
Allowing for ſtreets and public uſes - - - -	40	
To half an acre for every houſe - - - - -	50	640 acres
To one hundred lotts at five and half acres - -	550	

THE four ſides of the ſquare meaſure 7040 yards, which gives to each houſe about 70 yards front to ſtockade, and the ground allowed for building will be 210 feet front, and about 100 feet deep.

AN acre of ground will produce at leaſt 30 buſhels of Indian corn. Therefore, two acres are ſufficient to ſupply five perſons, at the rate of twelve buſhels each perſon. Two other acres will be a paſture for cows and ſheep, another acre for hay, to be ſown with red clover. The remaining half acre may be laid out for a garden.

ROUND the town are the commons, of three miles ſquare, containing, excluſive of the lots abovementioned, 5120 acres. On three ſides of the town, five other Squares will be laid out of three ſquare miles, containing 5760 acres each, one of which is reſerved for wood for the uſe of the Settlement; the other four to be divided into 25 out-lotts or plantations, of about 230 acres each, ſo that in the four Squares, there will be one hundred ſuch plantations, for the 100 families.

ANOTHER townſhip may be laid out joining this, upon the ſame plan, and as many more as you pleaſe upon the ſame line, without loſing any ground.

THE following is a rough ſketch of the whole.

Townſhip A.		Townſhip B.		Townſhip C.		Townſhip D.	
1	1	2	2	3	3	4	4
5760 acres wood for the Town A	Commons A Commons	Commons B Commons	Wood for the Town B	Wood for the Town C	Commons C Commons	Commons D Commons	Wood for the Town D
25 lotts of 230 acres 1	1	2	2	3	3	4	4

THUS the town, A, has its commons, its woodland, and its 4 ſquares marked No. 1. each containing 25 plantations of 230 acres, as propoſed above. In like manner, the other towns, B, C, D, have their appurtenances reſpectively marked.

LET us now ſuppoſe this plan accompliſhed, and ſuch corps as theſe fully ſettled, trained and diſciplined, in the manner abovementioned; I would aſk whether any officer, entruſted with an expedition againſt the ſavages, would not chuſe to have them in his army? I may ſafely anſwer for all thoſe who have been employed in that ſervice, that they would prefer them to double the number of the beſt European troops. And when they had ſerved the time limited, namely from their 15th to their 35th year, what vaſt ſatisfaction would it be to pay over to them their ſhare of ſavings from the public cheſt; and, as a reward of their faithful toils, to veſt them and their heirs with their ſeveral plantations, which they would now be enabled to cultivate as their own? This proſpect would engage many people to enter their ſons, in ſuch corps; and thoſe veterans, when thus diſcharged, would not only be the means of forming and animating others by their example, but in caſe of a war would ſtill bravely maintain the property they had ſo honourably acquired, and be the greateſt ſecurity of the frontier where they are ſettled.

PREPA-

PREPARATIONS FOR AN EXPEDITION IN THE WOODS AGAINST SAVAGES.

IT is not practicable to employ large bodies of troops againſt Indians; the convoys neceſſary for their ſupport would be too cumberſome, and could neither be moved with eaſe, nor protected. It would be better to fit out ſeveral ſmall expeditions, than one too unwieldy: I will therefore ſuppoſe that a corps intended to act offenſively ſhall not exceed the following proportions.

Two regiments of foot	900
One battalion of hunters	500
Two troops of light horſe	100
One company of artificers	20
Drivers and neceſſary followers	280
In all	1800

THE firſt article to provide is the proviſions, and next the carriages.

THE daily ration of a ſoldier in the woods ſhould conſiſt of one pound and a half of meat (which requires no carriage) and one pound of flour, with a gill of ſalt per week.

UPON that allowance 1800 men will require for ſix months or 182 days	327,600 lb. Flour.
ALLOWING one fourth for accident	81,900
For ſix months	409,500 lb. Flour.
MEAT for the ſame time with a fourth part more for accidents, or 2048 beeves at 300 lb. each	614,400 lb. Meat.
Salt for 26 weeks	182 Buſhels.

THE above quantity would ſerve the whole campaign, but one half would be ſufficient to penetrate from the laſt depoſite into the heart of the enemy's country: therefore we ſhall compute the carriages for this laſt quantity only.

EVERY horſe carries about 150 lb. neat weight, therefore, to carry flour for three months or 204,750 lb. will require 1365 horſes.

HORSES

Horses for flour brought forward	1365
For 91 bushels of salt	46
Ammunition	50
Tents	50
Tools	50
Hospital	20
Officers baggage and staff	150
	1731

To reduce this exorbitant number of horses, and the great expence attending it, I would propose, for such parts of the country as would admit of it, to make use of carts, drawn each by four oxen, and carrying about 1300 lb. or six barrels of flour. The above quantity of 204,750 lb. will then be carried by 160 carts drawn by 640 oxen

Spare oxen with the army	384
The number of oxen wanted	1024

This method would not be as expeditious as the carriage by horses, and would require more time and attention in cutting the road, and bridging the swampy places, &c. but, on the other hand, what an expence would be saved! and by killing the oxen in proportion as the flour is used, and abandoning the carts, the convoy is daily reduced, and the grass near the encampment will not be so soon consumed, which is not the case with horses, which must equally be fed though unloaded. This is an object of consequence, particularly near the end of the campaign, when the scarcity of fodder obliges to move the camps every day, and to place them in low and disadvantageous grounds.

I would therefore incline for the use of carts, and they could be made before hand by the hunters and their artificers.

The oxen should be bought in the provinces where the farmers make use of them in their works. One or two soldiers would drive the cart and take charge of the four oxen.

THERE are few rivers in North-America deep in ſummer, and which theſe carts with high and broad wheels, could not ford; but if the contrary ſhould happen, the carts, proviſions and baggage, may be rafted over, or a bridge built. In a country full of timber, and with troops accuſtomed to work, no river will ſtop an army for a long time.

BY the above method, 3 or 400 horſes would be ſufficient to carry the baggage, ammunition, tents, tools, &c.

EXPLANATION OF THE FOUR PLANS, † PLATE II.

Repreſenting the different poſitions of our army in the woods.

ENCAMPMENT.

THE camp (Fig. 1) forms a parallellogram, of one thouſand by ſix hundred feet. Eight hundred men of the regular troops (1) encamp on the four ſides, which gives twenty-four feet to each tent, containing ſix men. The light-horſe (3) encamp within the parallellogram. The reſerve (7) in the center.

THE proviſions, ammunition, tools and ſtores (8) and the cattle (9) are placed between the two troops of light horſe and the reſerve. The hunters (2) encamp on the outſide diagonally at the four angles, being covered by redoubts (5) formed with kegs and bags of flour or faſcines. Beſides theſe four redoubts, another is placed to the front, one to the rear, and two before each of the long faces of the camp, making in all ten advanced guards of 22 men each, and 7 centries, covered if poſſible by breaſt works of faſcines or proviſions. Before the army lay down their arms, the ground is to be reconnoitred, and the guards poſted, who will immediately open a communication from one to the other, to relieve the centries, and facilitate the paſſage of rounds.

THE centries upon the ammunition, proviſions, head quarters, and all others in the inſide of the camp are furniſhed from the reſerve. The officers, except the ſtaff and commanders of corps, encamp on the line with their men.

† See this Plate before Pag. 7.

THE

THE fires are made between the guards and camp, and put out in caſe of an attack in the night.

LINE of MARCH, Plate II. Fig. II.

PART of the hunters (2) in three diviſions detaching ſmall parties (5, 6) to their front and to their right and left, to ſearch the woods and diſcover the enemy.

THE artificers and ax-men (4) to cut a road for the convoy, and two paths on the right and left for the troops.

ONE hundred and fifty of the regular troops (1) in two files, who are to form the front of the ſquare; theſe march in the center road.

Two hundred and fifty regulars (1) in one file by the right hand path; and 250 (1) by the left hand path, are to form the long faces.

THESE are followed by 150 regulars (1) in two files, who are to form the rear of the ſquare.

THE reſerve (7) compoſed of 100 regulars in two files.

THE reſt of the hunters (2) in two files.

THE light horſe (3.)

THE rear guard (5) compoſed of hunters, follows the convoy at ſome diſtance and cloſes the march. The ſcouting parties (6) who flank the line of march, are taken from the hunters and light horſe, and poſted as in plan (Fig. 2) ſome orderly light horſe men, attend the General and field officers who command the grand diviſions, to carry their orders. Two guards of light horſe take charge of the cattle (9.)

THE convoy (8) proceeds in the following order.

THE tools and ammunition following the front column.

THE baggage.

THE cattle.

THE

THE proviſions.

THE whole divided into Brigades, and the horſes two a breaſt.

DEFILES.

IN caſe of a defile, the whole halt until the ground is reconnoitred, and the hunters have taken poſſeſſion of the heights. The center column then enters into the defile, followed by the right face; after them the convoy; then the left and rear face, with the reſerve, the light horſe, and the rear guard.

THE whole to form again as ſoon as the ground permits.

DISPOSITION TO RECEIVE THE ENEMY, Fig. (3)

THE whole halt to form the ſquare or parallellogram, which is done thus. The two firſt men of the center column ſtand faſt at two yards diſtance. The two men following them, ſtep forward and poſt themſelves at two yards on the right and left. The others come to the front in the ſame manner, till the two files have formed a rank, which is the front of the ſquare.

THE rear face is formed by the two file-leaders turning to the center road, where having placed themſelves at two yards diſtance, they face outwards, and are followed by their files, each man poſting himſelf on their right or left, and facing towards the enemy the moment he comes to his poſt.

AS ſoon as the front and rear are extended and formed, the two long faces, who have in the mean time faced outwards, join now the extremities of the two fronts and cloſe the ſquare †.

TO REDUCE THE SQUARE.

THE right and left of the front, face to the center, where the two center men ſtand faſt. Upon the word "march" theſe ſtep forward and are replaced by the two next, who follow them, and ſo on; by which means, that front becomes again a column. The rear goes to the right about, and each of the two center men leads again to the ſide paths followed by the reſt.

† Theſe evolutions muſt be performed with celerity.

WHILE the troops form, the light horſe and each diviſion of the convoy take the ground aſſigned to them within the ſquare, as if they were to encamp; and the horſes being unloaded, two parallel lines will be formed, with the bags and kegs of proviſions, to cover the wounded and the men unfit for action. The hunters take poſt on the moſt advantageous ground on the out ſide, and ſkirmiſh with the enemy, till the ſquare is formed; when, upon receiving their orders, they retire within the ſquare, where they take their poſt as in Fig. (3).

THE ſmall parties of rangers (5) who have flanked the line of march, remain on the outſide, to keep off the enemy and obſerve their motions.

WHEN the firing begins the troops will have orders to fall on their knees, to be leſs expoſed till it is thought proper to attack.

THE four faces, formed by the regular troops, are divided into platoons *chequered.* One half, compoſed of the beſt and moſt active ſoldiers, is called the firſt Firing, and the other half the ſecond Firing.

THE eight platoons at the angles are of the ſecond Firing, in order to preſerve the form of the ſquare during the attack.

IT is evident that, by this diſpoſition, the convoy is well covered, and the light troops, deſtined for the charge, remain concealed; and as all unexpected events during an engagement are apt to ſtrike terror, and create confuſion, among the enemy, it is natural to expect that the ſavages will be greatly diſconcerted at the ſudden and unforeſeen eruption, that will ſoon pour upon them from the inſide of the ſquare; and that, being vigorouſly attacked in front and flank at the ſame time, they will neither be able to reſiſt, nor, when once broke, have time to rally, ſo as to make another ſtand. This may be effected in the following manner.

GENERAL ATTACK, Fig. IV.

THE Regulars (1) ſtand faſt.

THE hunters (2) ſally out, in four columns, thro' the intervals of the front and rear of the ſquare, followed by the light horſe (3) with their blood-hounds.

hounds. The intervals of the two columns who attack in the front, and of thoſe who attack in the rear, will be cloſed by the little parties of rangers (5) poſted at the angles of the ſquare, each attack forming in that manner, three ſides of a parallelogram. In that order they run to the enemy (X) and having forced their way through their circle, fall upon their flanks; by wheeling to their right and left, and charging with impetuoſity. The moment they take the enemy in flank, the Firſt Firing of the regular troops march out briſkly and attack the enemy in front. The platoons detached in that manner from the two ſhort faces, proceed only about one hundred yards to their front, where they halt to cover the ſquare, while the reſt of the troops who have attacked purſue the enemy, till they are totally diſperſed, not giving them time to recover themſelves.

The ſick and wounded, unable to march or ride, are tranſported in litters made of flour bags, through which two long poles are paſſed, and kept aſunder by two ſticks, tied acroſs beyond the head and feet to ſtretch the bag. Each litter is carried by two horſes——

These remarks might have been extended to many other caſes that may occur in the courſe of a campaign or of an engagement, but it is hoped this ſketch will be ſufficient to evince the neceſſity of ſome alteration in our ordinary method of proceeding in an Indian war.

APPENDIX I.

CONSTRUCTION OF FORTS AGAINST INDIANS.

AS we have not to guard here againſt cannon, the ſyſtem of European fortifications may be laid aſide, as expenſive, and not anſwering the purpoſe. Forts againſt Indians, being commonly remote from our ſettlements, require a great deal of room to lodge a ſufficient quantity of ſtores and proviſions, and at the ſame time ought to be defenſible with one half of their compleat garriſons, in caſe of detachments or convoys.

I AM therefore of opinion that a ſquare or pentagon, with a block-houſe of brick or ſtone* at every angle, joined by a wall flanked by the block-houſes, would be the beſt defence againſt ſuch enemies. A ditch from ſeven to eight feet deep might be added, with loop holes in the cellars of the block-houſes ſix feet from the ground, to defend the ditch.

ALONG the inſide of the curtains the traders might build houſes and ſtores, covered as well as the block-houſes with tiles, or ſlate, to guard againſt fire arrows. There will remain a ſpacious area for free air and uſe, in which as well as in the ditch, gardens might be made and wells dug.

THE powder magazines might be placed in the center of the area, keeping only a ſmall quantity of cartridges in each block-houſe for preſent uſe.

* Experience has demonſtrated that fortifications made of wood decay very ſoon, and are on that account of conſiderable expence.

THE

THE garriſons of ſuch forts would be free from ſurprizes, even if they had no centries, for nothing can get at them, while the doors are well bolted and barred.

SOME REASONS FOR KEEPING POSSESSION OF OUR LARGE FORTS IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY.

As theſe forts have been one of the cauſes of the laſt war and are a great eye-ſore to the ſavages, they have bent their chief efforts againſt them; and therefore, while thus employed, they have been leſs able to diſtreſs our ſettlements. Our forts keep the Indian towns at a great diſtance from us. Fort-Pitt has effectually driven them beyond the Ohio, and made them remove their ſettlements at leaſt 60 miles further weſtward. Was it not for theſe forts, they would ſettle cloſe on our borders, and in time of war infeſt us every day in ſuch numbers as would over-power the thin inhabitants ſcattered on our extenſive frontier. The farmer unable to ſow or reap would ſoon fall back on our chief towns, or quit the country for want of bread. In either caſe, what would be the fate of the large towns burthened with the whole country, and deprived of ſubſiſtance and of the materials of trade and export?

THE deſtruction of theſe forts being, in time of war, the chief aim of the ſavages, they gather about them to diſtreſs the garriſons, and to attack the convoys; thereby giving us an opportunity to fight them in a body, and to ſtrike a heavy blow, which otherwiſe they would never put in our power, as their advantage lies in ſurprizes, which are beſt effected by ſmall numbers. Experience has convinced them that it is not in their power to break thoſe ſhackles, and therefore it is not probable that they will renew the attempt; and our poſts will continue a check upon them, and ſave the difficulty and expence of taking poſt again in their country. Our forts are likewiſe the proper places for trade, which being cloſely inſpected, it will be eaſy for us to limit their ſupplies, to ſuch commodities as they cannot turn againſt us, and to put a ſpeedy ſtop to all juſt cauſes of complaints, by giving immediate redreſs.

A FEW forts, with ſtrong garriſons, I ſhould judge to be of more ſervice than a greater number weakly guarded. In the laſt war we loſt all our ſmall poſts; but our more conſiderable ones, Detroit and Fort-Pitt, reſiſted all the efforts of the ſavages, by the ſtrength of their garriſons.

APPEN-

APPENDIX II.

THE following Paper was written by an Officer well acquainted with the places he deſcribes; and is thought worthy of a place here, as every thing is material which can encreaſe our knowlege of the vaſt countries ceded to us and of the various nations that inhabit them.

ACCOUNT of the FRENCH FORTS ceded to GREAT BRITAIN in LOUISIANA.

THE ſettlement of the Illinois being in 40 degrees of latitude, is 500 leagues from New-Orleans by water and 350 by land.

THE moſt proper time of the year for going there, is the beginning of February. The waters of the Miſſiſippi are then high, and the country being overflowed, there is leſs to fear from the ſavages, who are hunting in that ſeaſon.

THE encampments ſhould be on the left of the river, as the enemies are on the right, and cannot have a ſufficient number of crafts to croſs if their party is large.

THEY generally attack at day-break, or at the time of embarking.

THE inhabitants might bring proviſions half way, if they were allowed good pay.

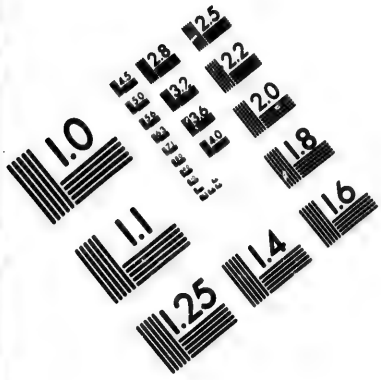
THE Delawares and Shawaneſe lie near Fort Du Queſne, † which is about 500 leagues from the Illinois. The Wiandots and Ottawas, (who are at the Detroit) are about 250 leagues from the Illinois by land. And the Miamis about 200 by land.

NEVERTHELESS as intelligence is carried very faſt by the Savages, and as all the nations with whom we are at war, can come by the Ohio, ‡ we muſt be vigilant to prevent a ſurprize.

THE

† So the French formerly called what is now Fort Pitt.

‡ Part of the navigation of the Ohio, from Fort-Pitt is deſcribed as follows, viz.. That the difficult part of the river is from Fort-Pitt about 50 or 60 miles downwards. There



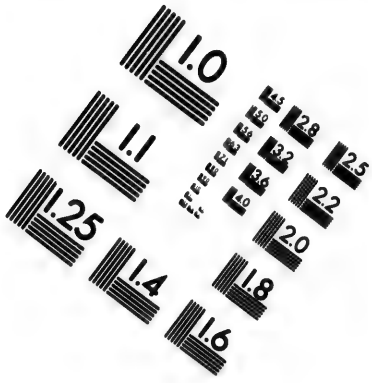
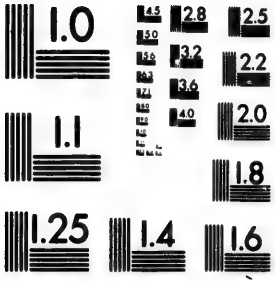
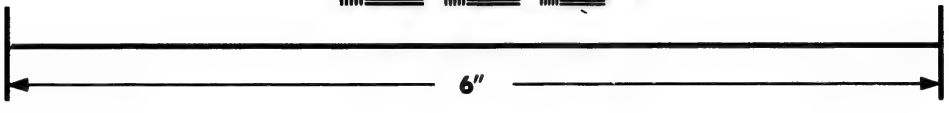


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)





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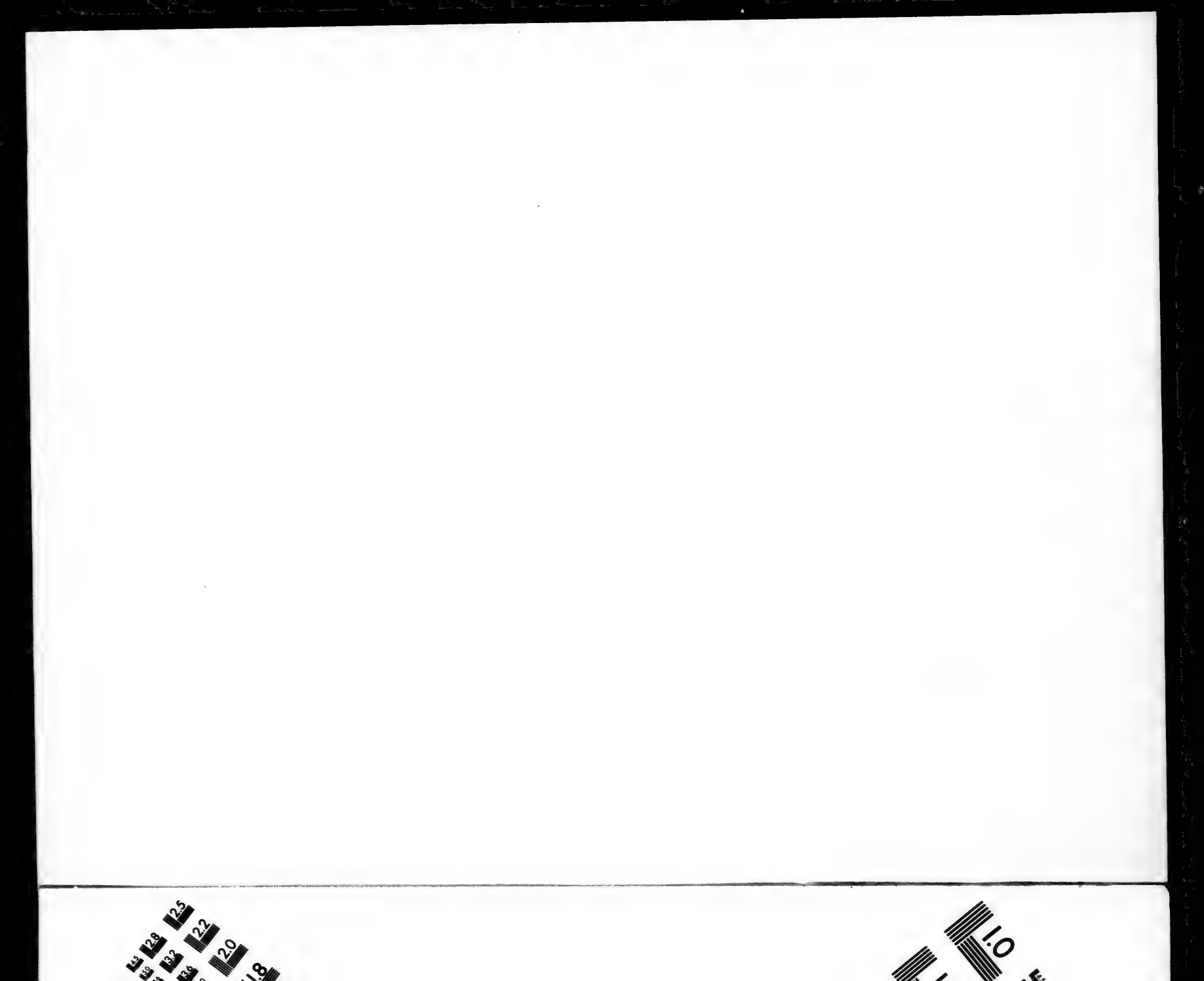

THE mouth of the Ohio, in the Miſſiſippi, is 35 leagues from the Illinois.

THIRTEEN leagues from the Miſſiſippi, on the left of the Ohio, is Fort Maſſiac, or Aſſumption, built in 1757, a little below the mouth of the river Cherokee †. It is only a ſtockade, with four baſtions and eight pieces of cannon. It may contain 100 men. In four days one may go by land, from this fort to the Illinois.

IT is of conſequence for the Engliſh to preſerve it, as it ſecures the communication between the Illinois and Fort-Pitt.

FORT Vincennes, which is the laſt poſt belonging to Louiſiana, is upon the river Ouabache ‡, 60 leagues from its conflux with the Ohio. It is a ſmall ſtockade fort, in which there may be about 20 ſoldiers. There are alſo a few inhabitants. The ſoil is extremely fertile, and produces plenty of corn and tobacco.

THE diſtance from this fort to the Illinois, is 155 leagues by water. And it may be travelled by land in ſix days.

THE nation of ſavages living at this poſt is called Pianquicha. It can furniſh 60 warriors.

ALTHO' we do not occupy Fort Vincennes at preſent, yet it would be of the utmoſt conſequence for us to ſettle it, as there is a communication from it with Canada, by going up the Ouabache.

FROM this poſt to the Ouachtanons is 60 leagues, and from thence to the Miamis (ſtill going up the Ouabache) is 60 leagues further; then there is a portage of ſix leagues to the river Miamis, and you go down that river 24 leagues to Lake Erie.

are 52 iſlands between Fort-Pitt and the lower Shawaneſe town on Scioto; and none of them difficult to paſs in the night, but one at the mouth of Muſkingham, occaſioned by a number of trees lying in the channel. From the lower Shawaneſe Town to the falls, there are but 8 or 9 iſlands. At the falls, the river is very broad, with only one paſſage on the eaſt ſide, in which there is water enough at all ſeaſons of the year to paſs without difficulty. Below the falls, the navigation is every way clear, down to the Miſſiſippi.

† River Cherokee falls into the Ohio about 800 miles below Fort-Pitt. This river is in general wide and ſhoal up to the ſouth mountain, paſſable only with bark canoes, after which it grows very ſmall.

‡ Ouabache or Wabaſh empties itſelf into the Ohio about 60 miles above the Cherokee river, on the oppoſite or weſt ſide.

MR.

MR. DAUBRY went by that rout in 1759 from the Illinois to Venango ‖, with above 400 men, and two hundred thouſand weight of flour.

THIRTY-FIVE leagues from the mouth of the Ohio, in going up the Miſſiſippi, on the right, is the river Kaſkaſquias. Two leagues up this river, on the left, is the ſettlement of the Kaſkaſquias, which is the moſt conſiderable of the Illinois.

THERE is a fort built upon the height on the other ſide of the river, over againſt Kaſkaſquias; which, as the river is narrow, commands and protects the town.

I DON'T know how many guns there may be, nor how many men it may contain. There may be about 400 inhabitants.

THE Illinois Indians, called Kaſkaſquias, are ſettled half a league from the town; and are able to turn out 100 warriors. They are very lazy and great drunkards.

SIX leagues from Kaſkaſquias, on the bank of the Miſſiſippi, is Fort Chartres, built of ſtone, and can contain 300 ſoldiers. There may be 20 cannon at moſt, and about 100 inhabitants round Chartres.

THE Illinois Indians at that place, who are called Metchis, can furniſh 40 warriors.

BETWEEN the Kaſkaſquias, and Fort Chartres, is a ſmall village, called *La prairie du Rocher* (the Rock Meadow) containing about 50 white inhabitants; but there is neither fort nor ſavages.

‖ By the above paper the rout is given up the Miſſiſippi, part of the Ohio, and up the Ouabache to Fort Vincennes, and likewiſe to the Illinois. Again from Vincennes and the Ouachtanons by water, on the weſterly communication to the Miamis portage, then by water down that river by the eaſterly rout into Lake Erie, proceeding as far as Preſqu' Iſle, then by the 15 m. portage into Buffalo or Beef river, lately called French creek, then down the ſame to Venango on the Ohio. In order, therefore, to carry this rout ſtill further, we ſhall continue it from Venango to the mouth of Juniata in Suſquehannah, which brings it within the ſettled parts of Penſylvania, viz.

From Venango to Licking creek, 10 miles. To Toby's creek, 13. To a ſmall creek, 1. To the parting of the road, 5. To a large run, 3. To Leycaumeyhoning, 9. To Pine creek, 7. To Chuckcaughting, 8. To Weeling creek, 4. To the croſſing of ditto, 4. To a miry ſwamp, 8. To the head of Suſquehanna, 10. To Meytauning creek, 18. To Clear Field creek, 6. To the top of Allegheny, 1. To the other ſide ditto, 6. To Beaver dams, 5. To Franks town, 5. To the Canoe place, 6. To the mouth of Juniatta, 110. Total 239 miles.

NEAR Fort Chartres is a little village, in which is about a ſcore of inhabitants. Here are neither ſavages nor fort.

FIFTEEN leagues from Fort Chartres, going up the Miſſiſippi, is the village of the Caſquiars. There is a ſmall ſtockade fort; I don't know if there is any cannon. There may be about 100 inhabitants.

THE Illinois Indians living near this village are called Caſquiars, and can turn out 60 warriors.

I COMPUTE that there are about 300 Negroes at the Illinois.

THE country of the Illinois is fertile, producing good wheat and corn. All kinds of European fruits ſucceed there ſurprizingly well, and they have wild grapes with which they make tolerable wine. Their beer is pretty good.

THERE are mines of lead, and ſome ſalt. They make ſugar of maple, and there are ſtone quarries.

APPENDIX III.

ROUT from PHILADELPHIA to FORT-PITT.

		Miles.	Qrs.	Per.
From PHILADELPHIA	to Lancaſter	66	0	38
	to Carliſle	55	0	00
	to Shippenſburgh	22	0	00
	to Fort Loudoun	24	3	00
	to Fort Littleton	17	3	00
	to the croſſing of the Juniata	18	3	00
	to Fort Bedford	14	3	00
	to the croſſing of Stoney creek	29	0	39
	to Fort Ligonier	20	1	43
	to Fort Pitt	56	0	00
		324	2	40

APPENDIX IV.

NUMBER of INDIAN TOWNS, ſituated on and near the Ohio River, and its branches, with their diſtances from Fort-Pitt, and the diſtances of the principal branches from each other at their conflux with the Ohio.

		Diſtance from one another.	Diſtance from Fort-Pitt.
	FIRST ROUT about N. N. W.	Miles	Miles
From FORT PITT	to Kuſhkuſkies Town on Big Beaver-Creek		45
	up the eaſt branch of Beaver-Creek to Shaningo	15	60
	up ditto to Pematuning	12	72
	to Mohoning on the Weſt branch of Beaver Creek	32	104
	up the branch to Salt Lick	10	114
	to Cayahoga River	32	146
	to Ottawas town on Cayahoga	10	156
	SECOND ROUT W. N. W.		
From FORT PITT	to the mouth of Big Beaver-Creek		25
	to Tuſcarawas	91	116
	to Mohickon John's Town	50	166
	to Junundat or Wyandot town	46	212
	to Fort Sanduſky	4	216
	to Junqueindundeh	24	240
	THIRD ROUT about W. S. W.		
From FORT PITT	to the Forks of the Muſkingham		128
	to Bullet's Town on Muſkingham	6	134
	to Waukatamike	10	144
	to King Beaver's Town on the heads of Hochocking	27	171
	to the lower Shawaneſe Town on Sioto river	40	211
	to the Salt Lick town on the heads of Sioto	25	236
	to the Miamis fort	190	426

FOURTH ROUT down the Ohio; general courſe about S. W.	Diſtance from one another Miles	Diſtance from Fort-Pitt. Miles
By water from FORT PITT to the mouth of Big Beaver Creek		27
to the mouth of Little Beaver Creek	12	39
to the mouth of Yellow Creek	10	49
to the two Creeks	18	67
to Weeling	6	73
to Pipe Hill	12	85
to the long Reach	30	115
to the foot of the Reach	18	133
to the mouth of Muſkingham river	30	163
to the little Canhawa river	12	175
to the mouth of Hockhocking river	13	188
to the mouth of Letort's creek	40	228
to Kiſkeminetas	33	261
to the mouth of big Canhawa or new river	8	269
to the mouth of big Sandy creek	40	309
to the mouth of Sioto river	40	349
to the mouth of big Salt Lick river	30	379
to the Iſland	20	399
to the mouth of little Mineamie or Miammee † river	55	454
to big Miammee or Rocky river	30	484
to the Big Bones ‡	20	504
to Kentucky River	55	559
to the Falls of the Ohio	50	609
to the Wabaſh, or Ouabache	131	740
to Cherokee River	60	800
to the Miſſiſippi	40	840

N. B. THE places mentioned in the three firſt Routs are delineated in the foregoing map, by an officer who has an actual knowledge of moſt of them, and has long ſerved againſt the Indians. The fourth Rout down the Ohio was given by an Indian trader, who has often paſſed from Fort-Pitt to the Falls; and the diſtances he gives of the mouths of the ſeveral rivers that fall into the Ohio may be pretty certainly depended on. Our maps hitherto publiſhed are very erroneous in placing ſome of thoſe rivers.

† Theſe rivers, called Little and Great Mineamie or Miammee, fall into the Ohio between Sioto and the Ouabache, and are different from the Miamis river, which runs into the weſt end of lake Erie, below the Miamis fort.

‡ So called from Elephant's bones ſaid to be found there.

APPEN-

APPENDIX V.

NAMES of different INDIAN NATIONS in NORTH-AMERICA, with the Numbers of their Fighting Men; referred to in the Note, page 37.

THE following liſt was drawn up by a French trader, a perſon of conſiderable note, who has reſided many years among the Indians, and ſtill continues at Detroit, having taken the oaths of allegiance to the King of Great Britain. His account may be depended on, ſo far as matters of this kind can be brought near the truth; a great part of it being delivered from his own perſonal knowlege.

		Warriors
Conawaghrunas, near the falls of St. Louis		200
Abenaquis,	St. Lawrence Indians	350
Michmacs,	St. Lawrence Indians	700
* Amaliſtes,	St. Lawrence Indians	550
* Chalas,	St. Lawrence Indians	130
Nipiſſins,	living towards the heads of the Ottawa river	400
Algonquins,	living towards the heads of the Ottawa river	300
Les Tetes de Boule, or Round Heads, near the above		2500
Six Nations, on the frontiers of New-York, &c.		1550
Wiandots, near lake Erie		300
Chipwas,	near the Lakes Superior and Michigan	5000
Ottawas,	near the Lakes Superior and Michigan	900
Meſſeſagues, or River Indians, being wandering tribes, on the lakes Huron and Superior,		2000
Powtewatamis, near St. Joſeph's and Detroit		350
Les Puans,	near Puans bay	700
Folle avoine, or Wild-Oat Indians	near Puans bay	350
* Mechecouakis,	South of Puans bay	250
Sakis,	South of Puans bay	400
Maſcoutens,	South of Puans bay	500
Ouiſconſins, on a river of that name, falling into Miſſiſippi on the eaſt-ſide		550
Chriſtinaux,	far north, near the lakes of the ſame name	3000
Aſſinaboes, or Aſſinipouals	far north, near the lakes of the ſame name	1500
Blancs † Barbus, or White Indians with Beards		1500

† They live to the northweſt, and the French, when they firſt ſaw them, took them for Spaniards.

Sioux,

Sioux, of the meadows	towards the heads of Miſſiſippi	2500
Sioux, of the woods		1800
Miſſouri, on the river of that name		3000
* Grandes Eaux		1000
Oſages,	south of Miſſouri	600
Canſes,		1600
Panis blancs,		2000
Panis piques,		1700
Padoucas,		500
Ajoues, north of the ſame		1100
Arkanſes, on the river that bears their name, falling into Miſſiſippi on the weſt ſide		2000
Alibamous, a tribe of the Creeks		600
* Ouanakina	Unknown, unleſs the author has put them for tribes of the Creeks	300
* Chiakaneſſou		350
* Machecous		800
* Caouitas		700
* Souikilas		200
Miamis, upon the river of that name, falling into Lake Erie		350
Delawares (les Loups) on the Ohio		600
Shawaneſe on Sioto		500
Kickapoos	on the Ouabache	300
Ouachtenons		400
Peanquichas		250
Kaſkaſquias, or Illinois in general, on the Illinois river		600
* Pianria		800
Catawbas, on the frontiers of North-Carolina		150
Cherokees, behind South-Carolina		2500
Chickaſaws	Mobile and Miſſiſippi	750
Natchez		150
Chactaws		4500
		56,500

THE above liſt conſiſts chiefly of ſuch Indians as the French were connected with in Canada and Louiſiana. Wherever we knew the names by which the different nations are diſtinguiſhed by the Engliſh, we have inſerted them. But the orthography is yet very unſettled, and the ſeveral nations marked with an * aſteriſm are unknown to us, and therefore they are left as they ſtand in the original liſt.

So large a number of fighting men may ſtartle us at firſt ſight; but the account ſeems no where exaggerated, excepting only that the Catawba nation is now almoſt extinct. In ſome nations which we are acquainted with, the account falls even ſhort of their numbers; and ſome others do not appear to be mentioned at all, or at leaſt not by any name known to us.

Such, for inſtance, are the Lower Creeks, of whom we have a liſt according to their towns. In this liſt their warriors or gunſmen are 1180, and their inhabitants about 6000. Thus a comparative judgment may be formed of the nations above-mentioned; the number of whoſe inhabitants will (in this proportion to their warriors, viz. 5 to 1) be about 283,000.

THE END.